

REQUEST OF DANIEL ELLSBERG

SUPPLEMENTAL RELEASE OF DOCUMENTS

PACKAGE 1 OF 16

FILE: 65-74060

320 pages

Defense Department
Office of the General Counsel
INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U.S. - Vietnam
Relations 1945 - 1967,
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 21 OCT 1971
Period: 16 Sep - 12 Oct 1971
Status: Pending
Prepared By: Rudolph M. Schellhammer

SUMMARY

Records, The RAND Corporation, failed to disclose full record of use by RAND personnel of OSD Vietnam Task Force Study and related documents. Procedural changes since newspaper disclosures will provide this record. "Carve out" philosophy relieves DCASR of responsibility for classified material pertaining to matters, the existence of which the controlling Government office does not wish to be generally known. Nineteen (19) TOP SECRET files, consisting of drafts and various working papers relevant to the Task Force Studies, were identified and returned to OSD. RAND SECRET document inventories and library files did not disclose additional relevant documents. RAND TS Control logs revealed 18 volumes of the 38-volume set of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study were officially received on 20 May 1970 as part of Ellsberg's files prior to his termination from regular RAND employment. RAND records do not reflect professional use of these volumes until after the newspaper disclosures. These 18 volumes, fully identified in the details of this report, consist of 2,452 pages and access was approved for Messrs. Rowen, Moorsteen, May and Averch on 4 January 1971. The 47-volume set of the Study is recorded as having been received from OSD on 3 October 1969. The log indicates this set consists of 7,847 pages and distribution was to have been limited to Rowen, Ellsberg, Moorsteen and May (or designees). Ellsberg variously withdrew 27 volumes of this set between 23 October 1969 and 20 April 1970; two volumes of which were duplicates of two of the 18 volumes from the 38-volume set which he had. Hence, according to various control documents, he actually possessed, 43 volumes of the Study. In July 1970 participants in a "Bureaucracy Conference" were approved by Halperin and Gelb for access to three volumes of the Study. Miscellaneous documents utilized by Ellsberg at RAND and the dates or period of access are identified and set forth in details of this report. RAND Security files revealed Ellsberg, Halperin and Gelb had been granted TOP SECRET security clearances in connection with their RAND employment or Consultant status. RAND procedures for approving access to TS information were revised in mid-August 1971 and now require certification of need by the appropriate RAND Project Director rather than by the Security Officer. DCASR-LA acted as courier for documents relating to the Study returned to DoD from RAND in June 1971, however, had no part in

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Approved: J. FRED BUZHARDT

selection. Documents selected for return to DoD were identified by RAND Security Officer, RAND TOP SECRET Control Officer (TSCO) and others. Selection process was discretionary with RAND personnel. RAND Security Officer and assistants searched all approved TS containers at RAND after the June 1971 disclosures and found four unrecorded TS documents which were reported to the Air Force and DCASR and entered in the RAND Security system. None of these were OSD Vietnam Task Force material. During the TOP SECRET inventories, RAND TSCO normally checks each TS document charged to an individual and does not search for unrecorded documents. TSCO maintained a record of IBM cards processed to the key punch facility to account for documents between charge-out and return of IBM cards. TSCO said access sheets were completely unreliable since the individual was only required to sign the access sheet on his initial access to the document. Further, that this was a personal responsibility and frequently individuals neglected or forgot to sign the access sheet. She recalled having signed Ellsberg's name to access sheets on several occasions when she knew he had had possession of a document and noted his failure to sign the access sheet. Ellsberg was never given TS documents by TSCO without a record being made. TSCO was unaware that 18 volumes of the 38-volume OSD Vietnam Task Force Study existed at RAND until she received them from Moorsteen on 20 May 1970. TSCO was first told of the 47-volume Study in approximately April 1969 by Gelb who telephonically informed her that The RAND Corporation was to receive a set and instructed her concerning its limited distribution. She said that she may have been told of an agreement that additional access would be granted only if approved by two persons from among Gelb, Halperin and Warnke, however, she had never seen anything to this effect in writing. Although Ellsberg was the prime user of the 47-volume set at RAND, Santa Monica, the TSCO is certain that Ellsberg did not have possession of any part of it prior to 23 October 1969. TSCO had been impressed with the sensitivity of the Study by Gelb and later by Ellsberg and denied Study's existence at RAND on at least two occasions to other RAND officials. Examination of The RAND Corporation warehouse records disclosed 14 boxes of material stored for Averch and 23 boxes of material stored for Moorsteen. Items were stored as unclassified material and are subject to company examination prior to return. Shubert advised that he had discussed a study concerning Vietnam decision-making processes with Halperin and Roberts OSD/ISA as a RAND project. Eventually, when such a Study was initiated at the Pentagon, he was invited to participate and prepared three papers between the summer of 1967 and early 1968. He and his assistant, Mary Anderson had no function with the OSD Vietnam Task Force other than the preparation of these three papers. They did some research at Washington, D.C. using materials available in the Task Force files and did most of the writing at Santa Monica. He did not know the source of the documents obtained by the OSD Vietnam Task Force. Details of a report prepared by the Director, Security Police, The Inspector General, Headquarters USAF concerning The RAND Corporation security set forth.

DETAILS

1. On 16 September 1971, Mr. Henry S. Rowen, President The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, advised Special Agents Jerry C. Sharp and Rudolph M. Schellhammer in the presence of Dr. Frederick Stires, Researcher, Office of the Secretary of Defense, that he would make the facilities and personnel of The RAND Corporation available in an attempt to identify documents, either in the system or uncontrolled in the possession of RAND researchers, which may be germane to the CSD Vietnam Task Force Study and the disclosures contained in The New York Times. Mr. Rowen further advised: The RAND Corporation has not, in the past, maintained a good historical record of classified document charge outs. He explained the only records of access to classified documents prior to the recent Daniel Ellsberg disclosures were reflected on the access sheets and in signed IBM cards of current charge outs. He noted that personnel were not required to sign the access sheet each time they used a particular document and when a document was returned to TOP SECRET Control the signed IBM card was returned to the individual for disposition. Since the Ellsberg incident, RAND now retains and files the IBM cards of returned documents and will, in the future, be able to reconstruct the access enjoyed by all personnel. Rowen acknowledged there might still be classified handwritten notes in the personal possession of some of the RAND researchers even though much has been said about such unauthorized retention in the recent past. He said he would cooperate in any efforts to identify and reclaim such data from his researchers.

Rowen said Ellsberg had had access to much highly classified information and, since self-dramatization was at least one of Ellsberg's motives in making his disclosures, he speculated that Ellsberg might be planning additional disclosures in order to remain in the limelight. He speculated further that since Ellsberg's past specialty involved nuclear delivery, war plans, and command and control, a future disclosure might involve these matters. Rowen emphasized this was purely speculation and he had no specific knowledge that any such disclosures were actually contemplated.

Rowen said Mr. Robert D. Specht, Deputy Vice President, The RAND Corporation, had drafted the RAND report on the Vietnam papers and was most knowledgeable of the RAND situation and actions subsequent to The New York Times disclosures.

2. On 16 September 1971, Specht provided Special Agents Sharp and Schellhammer xerox copies of the following documents contained in the files of RAND:

a. January 1968, Semiannual Inventory of D. Ellsberg's SECRET document account signed by Sandra Whitaker and Angie Martini on 8 February 1968.

b. Spring 1969, Semiannual Inventory of D. Ellsberg's SECRET document account signed by D. Ellsberg on 28 April 1969.

c. Fall 1969, Semiannual Inventory of D. Ellsberg's SECRET document account signed by D. Ellsberg on 27 October 1969.

d. Spring 1970, Semiannual Inventory of D. Ellsberg's SECRET document account signed by D. Ellsberg, date not indicated.

e. A machine listing dated 17 April 1970 of D. Ellsberg's Unclassified and SECRET document account signed by D. Ellsberg, date not indicated.

f. Semiannual Inventories of D. Ellsberg's TOP SECRET document accounts for the Fall of 1969, Spring of 1970 and a Termination Inventory signed by J. Butler on 15 September 1970.

g. Undated letter to The RAND Corporation, Attention: H. Rowen for D. Ellsberg from R. H. Best, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, transmitting a three-page inventory of 80 SECRET and CONFIDENTIAL documents received from D. Ellsberg, MACV/RAND, APO San Francisco, California, without proper receipts and security markings.

h. A Mail and Records Certificate of Destruction of 64 SECRET documents. Copies of the documents described above are appended as Attachments 1 through 8, respectively. In addition, during the period 16-23 September 1971, Specht advised that the RAND personnel, who had served on the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study and other individuals who were knowledgeable concerning the receipt, handling and disposition of the Task Force Study, could be located as follows:

Harvey Averch currently located at the National Science Foundation, Washington, D. C.

Daniel Ellsberg, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Melvin Curtov, University of California, Riverside, California.

Hans Heymann, Jr., The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California.

Gustave Harry Shubert, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California.

Mary E. Anderson, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California.

Robert Bonn, Defense Contract Administration Services (DCAS) Los Angeles, California, on trip to Europe returning on or about 4 October 1971.

Richard Moorsteen, The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Departed on extended round-the-world vacation during early June 1971 and is not expected to return until sometime during October 1971.

Richard H. Best, The Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California.

Joseph C. Sullivan, Defense Contract Administration Services Region-LA (DCASR-IA), Los Angeles, California.

3. On 20 September 1971, Messrs. Joseph C. Sullivan, Chief, Office of Industrial Security, Defense Contract Administrative Services Region-LA (DCASR-LA), Los Angeles, California, Lloyd M. Kelly, Chief Facilities DCASR-LA, Aubrey Bills, Chief, Los Angeles Field Office, DCASR-LA, were jointly interviewed by Special Agent Schellhammer in the presence of Dr. Stires.

Sullivan advised that at the time "The Pentagon Papers" were published and immediately thereafter in June 1971 his office was instructed by The General Counsel's Office, OSD through the Commander, DCASR, to proceed to RAND Corporation and obtain certain materials and transfer them to the Office of the General Counsel, Department of Defense, The Pentagon, Washington, D. C. He received no specific list of the materials to be picked up and was under the impression that arrangements concerning what to pick up had been made between the Office of the General Counsel and The RAND Corporation. He emphasized his only function was to pick up the material and DCASR-LA had absolutely nothing to do with the identification or selection of the documents. To the best of Sullivan's knowledge, Mr. Richard H. Best, RAND Security Officer, and other unidentified RAND employees had full responsibility for the entire selection.

Sullivan said his office had not been aware of any agreement concerning the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study which would require the signature of two of three individuals for release of the documents. Had he become aware of such a situation he would have notified his headquarters at Defense Supply Agency (DSA) since such an agreement would, in effect, constitute a "carve out." He explained that the DCASR-LA presently has almost 500 "carve out" cases in its files; that is cases involving sensitive material entrusted to contractors in connection with a specific task the existence of which the controlling Government office does not desire to be made generally known. As a result, this material is not included in the normal classified control system but filed separately and controlled on an "Eyes Only" basis by selected contractor employees. Such cases are considered outside the realm of DCASR-LA supervision. Procedurally, when Sullivan learns of a "carve out" from a contractor he communicates with his headquarters at DCAS, Cameron Station, Alexandria, Virginia, informing them of the "carve out." DCAS investigates with the controlling Government office and, upon confirmation, provides

written notification to DCASR-IA that this material is no longer to be considered within the purview of that office.

In the matter of sighting classified holdings in the safes of the various RAND researchers, interviewees said it is a standing rule at RAND that a Department Head, Security Officer or Inspector cannot open an individual's security container unless that individual is present. They said if a Department Head has made three unsuccessful attempts to arrange an inspection of the contents of a particular security container, he can do so without the presence of the researcher provided he notifies him of his intention. Sullivan, Kelly and Bills noted that examination of security containers of consultants was a big problem because of their frequent absences from the company premises. All advised that sightings are not intended as only verification of charge outs, but should be searches of security containers to assure both the existence of recorded material and to identify any other classified material in the possession of the individual.

4. On 16 September 1971, Captain Floyd A. French, [REDACTED] USAF Security Officer, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, provided Special Agents Sharp and Schellhammer with a copy of The RAND Corporation TOP SECRET Inventory dated 16 July 1971. A review of this document identified 76 TOP SECRET items currently in the RAND inventory the titles of which indicated possible relevance to the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study. Dr. Stires examined the above items and various other material both classified and unclassified contained in the RAND files and provided the following pertinent information:

a. Various documents, studies, working papers, title inventories, card catalogues and other source materials were examined with a view of determining their relevancy to the investigation in terms of:

(1) Locating any documents the contents of which had been published in The New York Times.

(2) Documents identified as appearing in the 47-volume set of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study, but also appearing in RAND files.

(3) Documents or other materials the nature of which indicated that they should be returned to the Bibliographic Team in the Pentagon for further examination and possible utilization in the investigation.

b. The following sources/materials were examined:

(1) JCS Documents: A collection of 46 TOP SECRET documents previously on file at RAND and recently returned to the JCS. A review of the title inventory of these documents indicated that none of them have any relevancy to the investigation.

(2) The "Saigon Papers": This collection of 80 documents, classified SECRET and below, was destroyed by RAND on 2 October 1970. A review of the title inventory of these documents indicated that none of them have any relevancy to the investigation.

(3) Documents in the RAND TOP SECRET Control System (TSCS): A search was made of RAND TSCS records for any TOP SECRET documents relevant to the investigation that were not turned over to DoD on 18 June 1971. The search revealed that some 19 TOP SECRET files contained papers or documents having a direct or indirect relevance to the Task Force Study. These were draft copies of Task Force Volumes, RAND Studies and various working papers prepared by Melvin Gurto, Hans Heymann, Daniel Ellsberg and Gustave Shubert. These 19 files were withdrawn from the TOP SECRET Control Officer (TSO) for return to the Pentagon and further examination.

(4) The Ellsberg Semiannual Inventories of SECRET documents: These listings of documents, held by Ellsberg at various times during the period January 1968 through August 1970, were checked by document title against those shown on incoming mail log records and destruction certificates. All but a small number of these documents were destroyed on 2 October 1970. None were relevant to the investigation.

(NOTE: The "Saigon Papers," mentioned in (2) above, were included in this group of documents.)

(5) The RAND Central Library: This library uses the standard card catalogue system for all SECRET and lower classification documents currently held at RAND. In addition, a separate catalogue listing is maintained for documents received at RAND, but subsequently returned or destroyed. A search through these files revealed no documents relevant to the investigation.

5. On 17 September 1971, French advised that on 2 September 1971 a group of TOP SECRET documents were shipped from RAND to the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS). These documents were identified by Donald C. Nielsen, Lt Colonel, USAF, Senior Air Force Officer detailed to The RAND Corporation, as material for which RAND had no current use and were returned to JCS to reduce the volume of TOP SECRET material maintained at RAND. A list of the returned documents identified by TOP SECRET control number, date, and title, was furnished by French and reviewed by Stires. Based upon Stire's examination of the titles of these documents, Stires concluded that none of the material returned to the JCS was germane to the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study.

6. During the period 16-23 September 1971, Special Agents Schellhammer and Sharp examined the RAND TOP SECRET Control log and various other documentation, fully identified below, concerning the following items with results as indicated:

a. 38-Volume Set of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study: The RAND TOP SECRET Control log reflects that 18 volumes of this set were received on 20 May 1970 as part of "Dan Ellsberg's files upon his termination." Receipt of these documents is recorded on TOP SECRET log pages consistent with the time period between 29 December 1970-13 January 1971. TOP SECRET Control Numbers 3661 through 3666D were assigned to these volumes. The log indicates that the 18 volumes contained 2,452 pages. TOP SECRET access sheets for these volumes reflect date received as 20 May 1970; they were logged in and access records attached by Jan L. Butler on 31 December 1970; approval of access was made on 4 January 1971 by J. Mathews (Assistant Security Officer, RAND). Access was approved for H. S. Rowen, R. H. Moorsteen, E. R. May and H. A. Averch. Access sheets do not reflect withdrawal of any of these volumes until 15 June 1971, after the newspaper disclosures. TOP SECRET File No. 3468, which is now a repository file for administrative data concerning the 47-volume set of the Study, contains a note dated 20 May 1970 at 8:30 A.M. instructing Butler to pick up Ellsberg's papers from Moorsteen, signed Dick (BEST). A receipt contained in the file reflects that Butler recovered these papers from Moorsteen on the same date.

The following volumes of the 38 volume version of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study were included in this group:

<u>Volume</u>	<u>RAND TOP SECRET Control Number</u>
I.	3661
II.	3662
IV. A. 2.	3663A
IV. A. 3.	3663B
IV. A. 4.	3663C
IV. A. 5.	3663D
IV. B. 2.	3664A
IV. B. 4.	3664B
IV. B. 5.	3664C
IV. C. 4.	3665A
IV. C. 5.	3665B
IV. C. 8.	3665C
IV. C. 9. (a)	3665D
IV. C. 9. (b)	3665E
VI. C. 1.	3666A
VI. C. 2.	3666B
VI. C. 3.	3666C
VI. C. 4.	3666D

b. 47-Volume Set of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study: The RAND TOP SECRET Control log reflects that this set was received on 3 October 1969 from Office of the Secretary of Defense. The receipt of this set is recorded on TOP SECRET log pages between entries related to documents indicated as having been received on 9 October and 20 October 1969. TOP SECRET Control

Numbers 3468 through 3479D were assigned to this set which the log records as consisting of 7,847 pages. The caveat "Distribution limited to H. S. Rowen, D. Ellsberg, R. H. Moorsteen and E. R. May (or designees)" is recorded in the Remarks column of the log.

Access sheets reflect that Ellsberg checked out the following five volumes of the Study on 23 October 1969:

<u>Volume</u>	<u>RAND TOP SECRET Control Number</u>
IV. B. 1.	3473A
IV. B. 3.	3473C
IV. C. 1.	3474A
IV. C. 6. (c)	3474K
IV. C. 7. (a)	3474L

An inventory of Ellsberg's TOP SECRET holdings on 18 November 1969, however, reflected that in addition to the above volumes of the Study, he had also received on 23 October 1969:

<u>Volume</u>	<u>RAND TOP SECRET Control Number</u>
IV. C. 6. (a)	3474H
IV. C. 6. (b)	3474J
IV. C. 7. (b)	3474M

These latter three volumes were sighted in Ellsberg's safe during the inventory, however, the access sheets pertaining to them do not reflect possession by Ellsberg until "4/70." All eight of the above volumes were listed as "write-ins (by JLB)" on the inventory. (JLB are the initials of Jan L. Butler, TSCO, RAND Corporation.)

Access sheets and a subsequent inventory of Ellsberg's TOP SECRET holdings on 17 April 1970 reflect that he charged out the following additional volumes of the Study on the dates indicated:

<u>Volume</u>	<u>RAND TOP SECRET Control Number</u>	<u>Date Charged Out</u>
IV. C. 2. (a)	3474B	3/4/70
*IV. C. 2. (b)	3474C	4/70
*IV. C. 2. (c)	3474D	4/70
*IV. C. 3.	3474E	4/70
*V. B. 1.	3476A	4/70
*V. B. 2. (a)	3476B	4/70

* Those volumes marked with an (*) were written in on the 17 April 1970 Inventory of Ellsberg's TOP SECRET holdings.

<u>Volume</u>	<u>RAND TOP SECRET Control Number</u>	<u>Date Charged Out</u>
*INDEX	3468	4/10/70
*IV. C. 4.	3474F	4/10/70
*IV. C. 5.	3474G	4/10/70
* V. B. 2. (b)	3476C	4/10/70
IV. C. 10.	3474R	4/20/70
V. A. Vol I	3475A	4/20/70
V. A. Vol II	3475B	4/20/70
V. B. 3. (b)	3476E	4/20/70
V. B. 3. (c)	3476F	4/20/70
V. B. 3. (d)	3476G	4/20/70
V. B. 4.	3476J	4/20/70
VI. A.	3477	4/20/70
*V. B. 3. (a)	3476D	Undated

* Those volumes marked with an (*) were written in on the 17 April 1970 Inventory of Ellsberg's TOP SECRET holdings.

The above described 27 volumes of the Study, when added to the 18 volumes of the 38-volume set possessed by Ellsberg less 2 volumes IV. C. 4. and IV. C. 5, which volumes he possessed from both sets, (See paragraph 6.a.) reflect Ellsberg possessed 43 volumes of the Study. List of titles of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study volumes is appended as Attachment 9.

Records do not support Ellsberg's possession of Volume III (The Geneva Accords, 1954); Volume IV. A. 1. (NATO and SEATO: A Comparison); Volume V. B. 4. (U. S. Involvement In The War - Internal Documents) and Volume VI. B. (Negotiations 1965-1967: Announced Position Statements) of the Study.

A 4"x6" card, maintained in the files of the TSCO pertaining to TOP SECRET Control Numbers 3468-3479, reflects that access to the "ISA Vietnam Task Force Report" required authorization by two of the following: "Leslie Gelb, M. Halperin, Paul Warneke" (sic). The card, in addition to listing "Rowen, Moorsteen, Ellsberg and May" as being authorized access to the report as of April/69 shows "Halperin and Gelb authorized access on 7/7" (year is not shown) and H. A. Averch as being authorized access 12/10 (year is not shown). The reverse side of the card lists 20 participants in a "Bureaucracy Conference" as approved for access on 16 Jul 70. These personnel were approved by Halperin and Gelb for access to TOP SECRET documents under control numbers TS 3474B, C, and D only (Volumes IV. C. 2. (a), (b), and (c)) of the Study.

Residual administrative data in TS File No. 3468 contains a "10 Dec 70" memo to Jan Butler signed Harry (Rowen) requesting that Averch be allowed access to the VN history file in connection with an Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) project.

A xerox page from the steno notebook contains handwritten notes:

"VN docs

Dan E
H. S. Rowen
Dick Moorsteen
Ernie May

Only per DE 10/21/69

Work nites beginning Wed 10/22

TS-3468 - 79."

c. Miscellaneous Vietnam Documents (1961), Ponturo Notes on 1961 and McNamara Memos: These items were reflected as received into RAND TOP SECRET inventory on 29 February 1968, however, are logged in between items reportedly received on 15 and 17 April 1968. They were assigned TOP SECRET Control Numbers 3253A, 3253B and 3253C and are listed as having been removed from Ellsberg's safe in absentia since his was an old-type safe no longer eligible for storage of TOP SECRET material. All documents were identified as "Working Papers, compiled by D. Ellsberg" and totaled 171 pages.

d. "Saigon Papers.": These documents classified SECRET and below were received at RAND, to be held for Daniel Ellsberg, from MACV/RAND, APO San Francisco under Postal Registry No. 36779 during 1967. A violation notice was prepared at RAND, Santa Monica, because no classified receipt was included with the material and the inner envelope did not show the highest classification of the material forwarded. The package of documents contained 21 SECRET documents and an assortment of 59 other documents classified CONFIDENTIAL (80 documents, see paragraph 2.g. above). A destruction certificate dated 2 October 1970 reflects the disposal of the 21 SECRET documents. The RAND report on the Vietnam papers reported that the CONFIDENTIAL documents were also destroyed on the same date. RAND's inventory of D. Ellsberg's SECRET document account reflects that he had had possession of these 21 SECRET documents at the time of every inventory from January 1968 to 27 August 1970.

e. "Report of Chairman, JCS on Situation in Vietnam and MACV Force Requirements" dated 27 February 1968: An eight-page document was processed and logged in on a RAND Santa Monica, CA, TOP SECRET control log, under the title "Report of Chairman, JCS on Situation in Vietnam and MACV Force Requirements" (U) (Wheeler Report). The notation "working papers" appeared in the Title/Description of the document. RAND TS. 3234 was assigned to the document which was recorded as having been received from "D. Ellsberg (from ISA)" on 13 March 1968.

A RAND TS Record of Access form was prepared for this document authorizing D. Ellsberg and eight (8) other individuals to have access to the document. Ellsberg was recorded as having possessed this report on 13 March 1968. In addition to Ellsberg six (6) other individuals were recorded as having possession of this document during the period 13 March 1968 - 19 April 1968 for the purpose of reading it. These individuals were identified as follows with recorded access as indicated:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Access</u>
G. H. Shubert	13 March 1968
Fred Ikle	14 March 1968
O. Hoeffding	14 March 1968
H. Rowen	16 March 1968
Guy Pauker	26 March 1968
E. Dews	19 April 1968

In addition, the record reflected administrative handling as follows:

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Access</u>	<u>Purpose of Access</u>
Jan Butler	13 March 1968	Log and attach access record
R. H. Sheen	13 March 1968	Approve access
Audra Carter	14 & 25 March 1968	Transmit
Joyce Imazu	15 March 1968	Transmit
S. Hurd	10 January 1969	File
R. Mathews	18 June 1971	Approve

Records of RAND TSCO (black notebooks fully described in paragraph 9 below) revealed Ellsberg again had possession of this report on or about 8 October 1969 when the TSCO forwarded a request for IBM signature cards charging Ellsberg with the document. Possession of this report by Ellsberg, with no additional records of his access being made, would have been possible until 18 November 1969 the date of the RAND TOP SECRET Inventory which did not indicate that he had the document at that time. The black notebooks maintained by the TSCO did not disclose any requests for IBM cards in addition to the original new card order on 13 March 1968 and an order for signature cards for A. Carter on 26 March 1968.

7. On 22 September 1971 the Security files of the individuals identified below were reviewed by Special Agents Schellhammer and Sharp and pertinent information extracted as indicated:

a. Daniel Ellsberg:

Date and Place of Birth: 7 April 1931. Chicago, Illinois

SSAN: 385-30-9955

Education:

Sep 37 - Jun 43	Barber School, Highland Park, Mich.
Sep 43 - Jun 48	Cranbrook School Bloomfield Hills, Mich. High School Diploma
Sep 48 - Jun 52	Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass. B.A.
Sep 52 - Jun 53	Cambridge University, Cambridge, England
Sep 53 - Jun 54	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. M.A.
Feb 57 - Present	(21 Apr 58) Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. "Fellow"
? - 1962	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. PhD

Organizational Membership:

1952 - Present (28 Jul 67)	Econometric Society, New Haven, Conn.
1957 - Present (21 Apr 58)	Institute for Management Science, White Plains, N. Y.
1954 - 1956	Marine Corps Association
1955 - 1956	Association of the U. S. Army

Foreign Travel:

Jun 52 - Jun 53	Cambridge, England - Education
Jun 52 - Jun 53	(School vacations) France, Germany, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Belgium and Italy. Pleasure trips
Apr 55 - May 55	St. Thomas, Virgin Islands - Liberty USMC
Feb 55 - Mar 55	Morocco, Italy, and Germany - Leave USMC
Aug 56 - Feb 57	Spain, Italy, France, Greece, Turkey, Sicily and Morocco - Liberty USMC
Aug 57 - Aug 57	Mexico - Pleasure
Sep 57 - Sep 57	Canada - en route to Mass.

Employment:

Jun 49 - Sep 49 Dodge Motor Corp, Hamtrack, Mich.
Aug 50 - Sep 50 Clint Wallis, Bosler, Wymo
Sep 53 - Apr 54 Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Apr 54 - Feb 57 U. S. Marine Corps
Feb 57 - Present Society of Fellows, Harvard University,
(21 Apr 58) Cambridge, Mass.
1959 - 12 Oct 64 RAND Corporation
Dec 66 - Jun 67 U. S. State Department, Saigon, Vietnam
28 Jul 67 - 15 Apr 70 RAND Corporation, Santa Monica,
Calif. (Consultant)

References:

John Kaplan, San Francisco, Calif.
Carl Kaysen, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Edward L. Katzenbach, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
William M. Simmons, Harvard Law School, Cambridge, Mass.
Martin Shubik, General Electric, New York City, N. Y.

Recorded Security Clearance:

TOP SECRET clearance granted by DISCO 29 April 1970
TOP SECRET clearance granted by DISCO 13 August 1967

b. Morton H. Halperin:

Date and Place of Birth: 13 June 1938, Brooklyn, New York

SSAN: [REDACTED]

Education: Sep 52 - Jun 54 Lafayette High School, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Sep 54 - Jun 58 Columbia College, New York City, N.Y. B.A.
Sep 58 - Jun 61 Yale University, New Haven, Conn. M.A. & PhD

Organizational Membership:

1956 - Present United Brethren Benefit Lodge,
Brooklyn, N. Y.
1960 - Present American Political Science Assn,
Washington, D. C.
1963 - Present American Civil Liberties Union,
Washington, D. C.
1963 - Present International Studies Assn,
Denver, Colo. (President/NE Chap)
1964 - Present Association for Asian Studies,
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor,
Mich.

Foreign Travel: (Present - 11 May 1970)

Jun 61 Montreal, Canada. Vacation
15 Jun 63 - 8 Dec 63 Tokyo, Japan. Vacation, Lecturing
Taipai, Taiwan. Research
Hong Kong
Bangkok, Thailand
Rangoon, Burma
Calcutta, New Delhi, India
Karachi, Pakistan
Tehran, Iran
Tel Aviv, Israel
Athens, Greece
Belgrade, Yugoslavia
Moscow, USSR
17 Sep 64 - 21 Sep 64 London, England. To attend conference
at Inst for Strategic Study
14 Jun 65 - 15 Jun 65 Montreal, Canada. Lecturing
3 Apr 66 - 10 Apr 66 Tokyo, Japan. Research
11 Apr 66 - 12 Apr 66 Hong Kong. Research
1 Jun 66 - 2 Jun 66 Berlin, Germany. To attend conference
sponsored by Inst for study of USSR
3 Jun 66 - 7 Jun 66 Calcutta, New Delhi, India. To attend
conference by American Academy of
Arts & Sciences
8 Jun 66 - 10 Jun 66 London, England. Lecturing & Research
2 Jan 70 - 4 Jan 70 Cuernavaca, Mexico. To attend confer-
ence sponsored by Inst of Politics
Harvard
6 Jan 70 - 21 Jan 70 Tokyo, Japan. To attend conference on
U.S.-Japanese relations, lecture
27 Feb 70 - 22 Mar 70 Vienna, Salzburg, Austria. To attend
seminar sponsored by Salzburg Seminar in
America Studies

Employment: (Present - 11 May 1970)

Sep 69 to Present The RAND Corporation (Consultant-
Contractor) Santa Monica, Calif.
Sep 69 to Present Brookings Institution (Senior Fellow)
Jan 69 - Sep 69 Washington, D.C.
Dec 67 - Jan 69 National Security Council (Senior
Staff Member) White House
Office of Secretary of Defense
(Deputy Assistant Secretary)
Jul 66 - Dec 67 OASD/ISA (Spec Asst for Plans) Wash.D.C.
Jul 65 - Jul 66 OASD/ISA (Consultant) Washington, D.C.
May 63 - Jun 66 INR, State Dept (Consultant) State Dept,
Washington, D.C.

Employment (cont'd):

Jul 64 - Jun 66 Bendix Sys Div (Consultant) Ann Arbor, Mich.
Nov 64 - Jun 66 Sadia Corp (Consultant) Albuquerque, N. Mex.
Sep 60 - Jul 65 Harvard Research Assoc (Asst Professor)
Cambridge, Mass.
Dec 61 - Jun 66 Raytheon Co. (Consultant) Bedford, Mass.
Sep 61 - Jun 66 Hudson Institute (Consultant)
Harmon-on-Hudson, N.Y.
Jun 61 - Jun 66 RAND Corporation (Consultant)
Santa Monica, Calif.
Apr 61 - Jun 61 Institute for Defense Analyses (Consultant)
Arlington, Virginia
Jun 60 - Sep 60 American Academy of Arts & Sciences
(Conference Participant) Boston, Mass.
Jun 59 - Sep 59 Sommers Pontiac (Dispatcher) New Haven,
Conn.
Jun 58 - Sep 58 Unemployed (Ref: Mr. Ira Jolles,
1845 West End Ave, NYC)
Reason: Summer Vacation
Jun 57 - Sep 57 Unemployed: Summer Vacation (Reference
as above)
Jun 56 - Sep 56 Unemployed: Summer Vacation (Reference
as above)
Jun 55 - Sep 55 Boepple Sportswear (Packer)
140 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

References:

		<u>Number of Years Known</u>
Mr. Harry Rowen	RAND Corp. Santa Monica, CA	10
Prof. Thomas Schelling	Harvard University	10
Dr. Fred Ikle	RAND Corp. Santa Monica, CA	10
Mr. Alton Frye	Office of Senator Brooke, Washington, D.C.	10
Mr. Leslie Gelb	1775 Massachusetts Ave, Washington, D.C.	16

Recorded Security Clearance:

TOP SECRET RD Clearance granted by DISCO 1 July 1970
(Consultant Type A)

c | Leslie Howard Gelb:

Date and Place of Birth: 4 March 1937. New Rochelle, New York

SSAN: [REDACTED]

Education: (Not listed)

Organizational Membership:

Jun 68 to 8 May 69 Institute for Strategic Studies,
18 Adam St, London W.C. 2.,
England. Professional

Employment:

Only information available in his folder concerning
employment is as follows:

4-21-69 to 9-30-69 (This was contained in a
Memorandum dated 5-22-69 to
R.H. Best from J.S. King,
Subject: Returned Consulting
Contracts)
Department: Social Science

References: (None listed)

Recorded Security Clearance:

TOP SECRET RD (Consultant Type A) Clearance
granted by DISCO 8 August 1967

8. On 21 September 1971, Mr. Richard H. Best, Security Officer for The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, was interviewed by Special Agents Sharp and Schellhammer in the presence of Dr. Stires. Best advised that he had two assistants currently employed in the Security Office: Mr. J. C. Mathews and Mr. R. J. Albright; a previous assistant was Mr. R. H. Sheen. In the past, Best and these three individuals had the responsibility for approving or authorizing access to TOP SECRET information maintained in the files of The RAND Corporation. The criteria for authorizing access to specific data involved relating the project number to which the TOP SECRET information applied to the identity of the personnel assigned to that project. According to Best it was a simple matter to approve access to TOP SECRET information provided the individual was assigned to the project to which the classified information was applicable. Best noted that on those occasions when he or one of his assistants was not available to approve access, approval was granted by "top management" of The RAND Corporation either the

President or one of the Vice Presidents. During June 1971, however, management decided that the appropriate RAND Project Director would be the best person to approve access to TOP SECRET information and in mid-August 1971, this procedure was instituted. After the June 1971 newspaper disclosures, Best received instructions to return all material relating to the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study to the DoD General Counsel's Office. He with the assistance of Jan Butler and others selected the documents which they thought pertinent for return. He did not ship any of the documents which appeared to be RAND papers and concentrated his attention in the area of back-up documents and the actual Study documents. He specifically recalled returning Simon's "black notebooks"; the 18 volumes recovered from Daniel Ellsberg and the 47-volume set of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study received in October 1969. He explained the entire selection process was a discretionary one on his part insofar as determining the relationship of the documents to the Study. In addition, Best stated Henry Rowen, Arnold S. Mengel, Gus Shubert and Bob Specht, all RAND executives, and James Gaither the RAND Counsel, assisted in making the determinations. Best was not aware of any classified documents being maintained within the RAND complex that were not under appropriate security controls. He acknowledged there has not been a wall-to-wall inventory conducted at RAND of SECRET material since the Ellsberg matter developed and noted that the Air Force and DCASR had been involved extensively in classified document inventories since June 1971. Best and his two assistants did search all approved TOP SECRET containers since June 1971 and found four unrecorded TOP SECRET documents which he entered into the RAND security system after reporting their discovery to the Air Force and DCASR representatives. None of these documents were OSD Task Force material. In addition, Best observed that just prior to the Air Force inventory there was an influx to the Mail and Record Section, of classified documents that had heretofore not been under RAND security system controls.

Best said The RAND Corporation does not normally store personal material for former RAND researchers. On occasion, in the past, when a researcher physically left RAND on detail he has been accommodated in order to preserve his unfinished efforts, by storing his documents in the Security Office pending his return. On these rare occasions, if the employee did not return for some reason, the material held was destroyed. In all cases, such material was controlled within the RAND Security Control system. Best said he does not presently have any classified material in his files falling in this category and specifically stated that none of the former RAND employees who worked on the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study have left any material stored at RAND.

Best said all inventories of TOP SECRET information are the responsibility of the RAND TSCO. That individual is required to actually sight all holdings of the individual being inventoried, verify charge-out records and determine if the employee has any materials not recorded in the system. He

acknowledged this has not always been done. He noted that it is not unusual for a document to be issued prior to the preparation of IBM control cards identifying the individual to whom the document is charged. If an inventory print-out is prepared while an IBM control card is being processed, "it becomes necessary for the TSCO to "write in" the TOP SECRET control numbers of the documents on the inventory sheet. Best was emphatic in noting that a "write in" by the TSCO did not indicate that the document had been accidentally discovered during inventory. The SECRET inventory system is less complex and in fact is left to the Department concerned as to the manner in which it is performed. Inventories are required at RAND in October and April of each year and most usually the individual to whom the documents are charged conducts his own SECRET inventory and certifies to his possession of the documents.

Best claimed he had no knowledge, previous to about 15 April 1970, that the 47-volume set or any other part of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study existed at The RAND Corporation. He said he was pretty "irritated" when he found out Jan Butler had a "secret" with the President of the Corporation concerning his (Best's) area of responsibility. He was further irritated on about 13 May 1970 when he was told by Henry Rowen an additional 18 volumes of the Study existed at RAND and was to be picked up from Moorsteen who had received the set from Daniel Ellsberg. He could provide little detail concerning the logging, preparation of access sheets or other information concerning the Study. He could not provide any basis for the caveat on the TOP SECRET Control log which limited the distribution of the 47-volume set to Rowen, Ellsberg, Moorsteen and May (or their designees) nor could he account for the delay in entry of either of the sets into the log.

Best provided a memorandum dated 16 July 1970 from J. L. Butler, former TSCO, which listed the individuals attending a conference on "Bureaucratic Politics" during July 1970 and who had been authorized access to the three TOP SECRET volumes of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study. This memorandum is quoted verbatim below:

"16 July 1970

Leslie H. Gelb phoned to give approval to the list of participants in the Bureaucracy Conference (7/18 - 7/24) to have access to three (3) volumes of the US - VN Relations series, specifically TS-3474-B, -C and -D only. Morton H. Halperin concurred in person.

These people were also approved for access to TS-3000.

A list of the participants follows:

L. H. Gelb
E. R. May

A. W. Marshall
R. H. Moorsteen

R. E. Neustadt
J. D. Steinbruner
R. H. Ullman
C. J. Zwick
R. Holbrooke
G. Allison
D. Ellsberg
M. H. Halperin
P. Y. Hammond
F. C. Ikle
R. W. Komer

A. P. Williams
H. Heymann
C. Wolf
W. M. Jones
H. S. Rowen
W. W. Whitson
J. P. Crecine
R. A. Levine
K. W. Smith

jlb

/s/ J. Butler
J. L. Butler
TS Control Officer"

Best referred all questions concerning the mechanics of the TOP SECRET processing of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study to Jan Butler.

9. On 22 September 1971, Miss Jan L. Butler, former TOP SECRET Control Officer (TSCO) for The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, was interviewed by Special Agents Sharp and Schellhammer in the presence of Dr. Stires.

Butler advised she was the RAND TSCO for the past 12 years until 16 September 1971 when she was transferred to the Information Sciences Department of The RAND Corporation.

In June 1971, subsequent to the newspaper articles concerning the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study, instructions were received at The RAND Corporation from the Office of the General Counsel, OSD to return the documents in RAND's possession concerning the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study to the Department of Defense. Butler had no details concerning the form or specifics of the instructions but recalled she assisted various persons including Richard Best identifying documents to be returned. Butler was under the impression she FBI and some people from DCAS, specifically a Mr. Robert Bonn, were in some involved with the recovery of these documents. She was not certain if they had any part in the actual selection of documents to be returned. Butler is not specifically recall selecting Colonel William E. Simons' working papers to be returned to the Office of the Secretary of Defense nor could she why Shubert's papers and others were not selected at that time. Butler inued, as a matter of fact, that it wasn't until a considerable time r the newspaper disclosures that she became aware that various other personnel had also been on the OSD Vietnam Task Force.

Butler said it had been her personal responsibility as TSCO to conduct all inventories of TOP SECRET documents within The RAND Corporation Security system. Her procedures, when making these inventories, depended upon the number of documents assigned to a particular individual and his availability to assist her. Generally, if a large number of documents were signed out, the individual would help her by calling off the numbers from his files which she would check against her inventory list. If a small number of files were involved, Butler would check the safe unaided. On the matter of inventory "write ins" Butler explained when an individual drew a TOP SECRET document, he signed a blank IBM card for this document. The IBM card was subsequently forwarded by Butler to The RAND Corporation key punch facility in order to have the user's numerical designation punched into the card. Upon return of this card it was then filed behind this man's name in the TOP SECRET Control office. Butler noted there was a delay of several days between the time the card was signed and when it was actually returned to the TSCO from the key punch facility, hence, she maintained a small "black notebook" which reflected the TOP SECRET control numbers of the documents that had been signed out and for which key punch services had been requested. In this black notebook she indicated the name of the individual to whom the document had been charged. If an inventory was conducted prior to the return of the IBM card she would use her black notebook to identify "write-ins."

Butler could not recall any instance in her 12-year tenure as TSCO where TOP SECRET documents were "discovered" by her in an individual's safe during a scheduled inventory. All "write ins" were known to her previous to the inventory.

Butler acknowledged that her normal procedures did not involve a search for unlogged classified documents but was primarily oriented toward verification that those items recorded as having been charged out to an individual were in fact in his possession.

Butler was shown the inventory sheets for TOP SECRET holdings for Daniel Ellsberg in the Fall 1969 and the Spring of 1970. It was noted that a number of "write ins" were reflected on both these inventories and that a comparison between the access sheets with the TOP SECRET log showed several discrepancies in the dates indicated on the inventory sheets and the dates of possession indicated on the access sheets. Butler explained the variations by noting that her "black notebooks" in every instance showed the dates that the IBM cards for the documents were sent to be key punched and that these dates were always just one or two days after the date of the charge out of the document. She said the access sheets were completely unreliable documents since it was left up to the individual concerned to sign the access sheet to indicate his possession of the document. Further, standing instructions provided that once a person had indicated possession of a document on the access sheet he was not again required to sign the access sheet on subsequent charge outs. Butler explained that in August 1971 this procedure had been changed and a person must now sign the access sheet on each occasion that the

document is in his possession. Butler admitted that on a number of occasions when an individual failed to sign the access sheet she made an entry for him to reflect his possession of the document. She specifically recalled having done so for Ellsberg on a number of occasions and added that she usually only put down the month and the year since she could not always be certain of the specific day.

Butler was emphatic that there was never an occasion when Daniel Ellsberg had received any TOP SECRET documents from her office without a record being made in the TOP SECRET Control files. She reiterated that by either her "black notebooks," an IBM card or a temporary receipt ("Goldenrod") used by her office, nothing left the TOP SECRET Control office without being recorded. Butler advised that another change which occurred in August 1971 concerning RAND TOP SECRET controls involved the maintenance of historical records of TOP SECRET possessions. IBM cards are now retained and filed after a document is returned to TOP SECRET Control and in the future a historical record of access may be generated for any RAND employee or document.

Butler was queried concerning Volumes IV. C. 6. (a); IV. C. 6. (b) and IV. C. 7. (b) of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study which were reflected as "write ins" on Ellsberg's TOP SECRET Inventory of 18 November 1969 (see paragraph 6.b. above). Butler was shown the access sheets for these volumes and it was pointed out to her that Ellsberg did not reflect access until April 1970, no specific date. Butler reiterated that the access sheet was an unreliable document and that Ellsberg apparently failed to sign the access sheet in November 1969. It was noted that the machine inventory for Spring 1970 also reflected his possession of these volumes and Butler speculated that she may have signed the access sheet on that date as a result of that inventory.

Butler, when asked why there had been no TOP SECRET inventory of holdings by Daniel Ellsberg previous to the Spring inventory of 1969, said that her files did not reflect he had had TOP SECRET material over an inventory period prior to that time. She noted, however, that had Ellsberg charged TOP SECRET documents out and returned them within an inventory period there would not have been any historical record of his possession other than the access sheet, if he signed it. The only significance of an inventory sheet is that the documents listed are those in an individual's possession as of a single specific date (the inventory date). Prior to August 1971 when it was decided to file the IBM cards as a historical record, possession was possible between the dates of inventory without a record of that possession existing.

Concerning the 18 volumes which were turned in by Ellsberg through Moorsteen in May 1970, Butler advised that she had recovered Ellsberg's known TOP SECRET holdings during April 1970 in connection with his termination from The RAND Corporation and assumption of Consultant status. Subsequently, she received a note from Best which she recalled was dated 20 May 1970, 8:30 A. M., to the effect that Moorsteen had Ellsberg's papers and that

she should pick them up from him. On this occasion she first became aware of the additional volumes of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study. She received these volumes from Moorsteen on 20 May 1970 and, at this point, considered the documents to be logged into The RAND Security system. Further, since she considered the additional volumes to be duplicative of the volumes contained in the full set which had been received from the Office of the Secretary of Defense in October 1969 she secured the 18 volumes in the TOP SECRET Control vault area and eventually, in December 1970, posted them to the TOP SECRET Control log. Butler was certain that no one had the documents in their possession between the time she recovered them from Moorsteen on 20 May 1970 and the time they were posted to the log in December 1970. She noted further that the access sheets for these documents did not reflect that anyone had had possession of them from the time they were logged in until after the newspaper disclosures in June 1971.

Concerning the 47-volume set from the Office of the Secretary of Defense received on 3 October 1969, Butler advised that she personally received for these documents. She was first made aware that some documents representing a study prepared in Washington, D. C., would be received by RAND in about April 1969 when she accepted a telephone call from Dr. Leslie Gelb in the absence of Mr. Henry S. Rowen. During this phone call, of which she has only a vague recollection, Gelb apparently instructed her concerning a limited distribution of these documents. She prepared a 4"x6" card on which she indicated the distribution instructions related by Gelb (see paragraph 6.b. above).

Consequently, when the volumes arrived and were logged in, she noted this limitation of distribution in the Remarks column of the TOP SECRET log. At that time she recalled, the individuals who were to be permitted access were H. Rowen, Daniel Ellsberg, Richard Moorsteen and E. R. May (RAND Washington D. C. consultant) or persons designated.

She said that Gelb may have told her, in April 1969 that any additional distribution would have to be approved by two of the following individuals: himself (Gelb), Morton Halperin or Paul Warnke, however, she said she had never seen anything in writing to this effect.

In light of these restrictions, on a subsequent date, when she was instructed by Rowen to add Harvey Averch to the access list for these volumes, she complied only after Rowen gave her a written memorandum to this effect.

Butler said that Ellsberg was the prime user of the 47-volume set at RAND, Santa Monica and that from the time of the arrival of the Study until about 23 October 1969 when she finished processing it, he impatiently awaited access to these documents. She is certain, however, that he did not have possession of any of the volumes of the Study prior to 23 October 1969 when she finished processing them.

Butler stated it had been impressed upon her by Gelb during their telephone conversation and later by Ellsberg that the very existence of this Study was highly sensitive and should not be disclosed to any one. As a result, Butler recalled that on at least two occasions she denied the existence of the Study at RAND, once to Mr. Gustave Shubert who is currently a RAND Vice President and had actually worked on the Study and the other time to Mr. James F. Digby, National Security Research Division.

Butler became concerned when she learned that Ellsberg, the only user of the Study up to this time, was leaving since she had denied the existence of this Study to others and now, with his departure, she did not know what to do about the Study. She contacted Best and expressed her concern particularly since she had earlier "lied" to Shubert and Digby. Best contacted Rowen and ultimately informed her that she would continue to deny the existence of this report at RAND and she would receive their backing in her action.

Butler did not know of any material stored at RAND Corporation for any researcher, either current or former. She said, however, that RAND does maintain a warehouse in the basement of their new building and that policy provides if a researcher is going away for 30 days or more he must turn in all TOP SECRET material; for 90 days or more all other classified material and, in this latter case if he has unclassified material, it may be stored for him. She referred to Mr. Bob Yoder of the warehouse for details concerning any storage of this type.

Concerning RAND TS No. 3234 (the Wheeler Report) and TS No. 3235 (JCS Strategic Analysis) the access sheets to which reflect limited distribution and notes "existence of this material is not to be disclosed to anyone," Butler said she does not specifically recall this transaction although acknowledges that the handwriting in which the caveat was written is hers. She explained that in transactions such as these, it was her habit to accede to the request of the individual who placed the document within RAND control. In this case she probably received her instructions concerning the caveat from Ellsberg, who according to the log, gave her the documents. Distribution was most likely added later, again on the instructions of Ellsberg. She noted that Ellsberg had written a RAND document of the same title as TS No. 3235. The document he prepared was assigned TS No. 3242.

Butler obtained a copy of her "black notebooks," 4"x6" card, prepared as a result of Gelb's instructions and the residual material in TS No. 3468 (containing the note from Best and her receipt to Moorsteen) to assist in the further review and analysis of RAND's documents.

10. On 29 September 1971 the "black notebooks" maintained by Butler were examined by Special Agents Sharp and Schellhammer for the period January 1969 through June 1970 and were correlated with Ellsberg's TOP SECRET inventories in order to identify the TOP SECRET documents he possessed and determine the period he possessed them. The following chart identifies the documents by

TOP SECRET control numbers; indicates the date signature card orders were forwarded to the key punch facility at RAND; and signifies which of the inventories, if any, the document was reflected on.

TOP SECRET Control No.	Signature Card Requested	INVENTORIES			
		Spring 1969	Fall 1969	Spring 1970	Fall 1970
3193	4/10/69	x	x	x	
3194	"	x	x	x	
3262	"	x	x	x	
3263	"	x	x	x	
3266	"	x			
3268	"	x	x	x	
3271	"	x	x	x	
3275	"	x	x	x	
3286	"	x	x	x	
2329	10/ 1/69				
2329A	"				
2330	"				
2330A	"				
2337	"				
2432	"				
2450	"				
2455	"				
2484	"				
3453	"				
3234	10/ 8/69				
3000	11/19/69			x	
3435	11/19/69				
3473A	11/20/69		x*		
3473C	"		x*		
3474A	Not recorded in black book		x*		
3474H	11/20/69		x*	x	
3475J	"		x*	x	
3474K	"		x*	x	
3474L	"		x*	x	
3474M	"		x*	x	
3474B	3/ 5/70			x	
3474C	"			x*	
3474D	Not recorded in black book			x*	
3474E	Not recorded in black book			x*	
3468	4/20/70		x		
3474F	"		x*		
3474G	"		x*		
3474R	"		x*		
3475A	"		x*		
3475B	"		x*		

* Reflects "write ins" on the Inventory Sheets

TOP SECRET
Control No.

Signature Card
Requested

INVENTORIES				
	Spring 1969	Fall 1969	Spring 1970	Fall 1970

3476A	Not recorded in black book		x*
3476B	Not recorded in black book		x*
3476C	4/20/70		x*
3476D	Not recorded in black book		x*
3476E	4/20/70		x*
3476F	"		x*
3476G	"		x*
3476J	"		x*
3477	"		x*
3151	6/23/70		x
3151B	"		x

* Reflects "write ins" on the Inventory Sheets

The titles relating to the above TOP SECRET Control numbers are reflected in Attachment 10 to this report.

11. On 22 September 1971, Mr. Robert E. Yoder, Services Group Supervisor, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, was interviewed by Special Agent Sharp. Yoder explained that RAND maintains a warehouse where, during temporary absences, RAND employees can store unclassified, personal, and private property used by them at RAND. Records in Yoder's possession revealed Mr. Harvey Averch who is presently at the National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C., has 14 boxes of unclassified material stored in the warehouse and Mr. Richard Moorsteen who is on a round-the-world trip has 23 boxes of unclassified material stored in the warehouse. Available records received by Yoder did not reveal the dates the boxes of material were placed in warehouse storage by Averch and Moorsteen.

12. On 22 September 1971, Mr. Warren Johnson, Chief of Physical Security, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California was interviewed by Special Agent Sharp. Johnson described the security procedures governing the storage of private property in RAND warehouses as follows:

When a RAND employee is going to be away from his office for an extended period of time he is permitted to clear his office and store his personal property in the RAND warehouse until he returns. The only restriction being that no classified or RAND property is included with the stored material. To insure that such property is not inadvertently included, RAND Security Personnel personally unpack all boxes and examine each document and piece of equipment. If any classified documents or RAND property is discovered it is removed, a report prepared and submitted to the pertinent Assistant Division Chief for action. This procedure has been in force at RAND for approximately one year. In thos

cases where the property was stored in the RAND warehouse prior to this policy, the security inspection will be performed before the return of that property to the owner. Johnson has no records to indicate if the property of either Averch or Moorsteen had been inspected.

13. On 23 September 1971, Mr. Wayne A. Calhoun, Supervisor of Lock and Key Branch, Security Division, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, was interviewed by Special Agent Sharp. After reviewing his records, Calhoun advised he could not establish the exact date on which Ellsberg was issued a safe certified for storage of TOP SECRET material. However, he was able to determine such a safe was issued to Ellsberg during the period 3 January 1968 and 8 April 1969. The earlier date being the date that a new RAND policy was implemented requiring Mosler safes certified by General Services Administration be used for storage of all TOP SECRET material at RAND and the latter date representing the date of a Security Division Memorandum recording the issue of the Mosler safes. According to that memorandum Ellsberg was issued Mosler Safe No. R-12866 which was retained by him until 13 May 1970 when all TOP SECRET material was removed from Ellsberg's safe by Messrs. Rowen, Best, Charles Wolf Jr., Chief, Economies Division and Miss Jan L. Butler of The RAND Corporation.

14. On 22 September 1971, Mr. Gustave H. Shubert, Vice President New Programs, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California and Acting President of New York City RAND Institute, New York, New York, was interviewed at RAND, Santa Monica, California, by Special Agents Schellhammer and Sharp in the presence of Dr. Stires.

Shubert advised he had been interested in and involved with research and studies concerning Vietnam for an extensive period of time which predates the beginnings of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study. While he could not specifically recall his first discussions, he related that during the winter of 1966-67 he held several telephone conversations with Morton Halperin and Mr. Ken Roberts, OSD/ISA, concerning research on the Vietnam decision-making processes. These discussions initiated by Shubert concerned making such a Study at The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, as a RAND project. While he was not privy to the details of its inception, such a Study was eventually initiated at the Pentagon in Washington, D. C., and because of his interests in Vietnam, Shubert was invited to participate in this Study. Specifically, he recalled a Lt Colonel Bob Schweitzer had been working on portions of the Study pertaining to the early period in Vietnam and for some reason was unable to fulfill his commitments. Shubert was asked if he would like to assume responsibility for that portion of the Study and he accepted. During the summer 1967, he prepared a paper entitled "A Study of the Viet Cong" at The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California. His colleague and collaborator on this Study was Harvey Averch. Thereafter, he made numerous trips back and forth between Washington, D. C. and Santa Monica until late 1967 or early 1968 performing research and making notes pertaining to two additional papers which had been assigned to him. Mary Anderson, his assistant, performed

one or two trips to Washington with him and participated in the research process. Thereafter, he returned to RAND and completed his papers. One paper was entitled "Aid for France in Indo-China, 1950-1954", was completed during late 1967 or January 1968 and the other paper "U. S. Training of the Vietnamese National Army 1954-1959" was completed in approximately March 1968. Thereafter, Shubert had no further function on the OSD Vietnam Task Force. Shubert recalled while in Washington he worked in the office adjacent to the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Material germane to his Study was filed in certain security containers in that office in the custody of a Lieutenant Smith at first and later a Chief Petty Officer Fox. This material was readily available to him as needed. There was no charge-out procedure for the research material; it was easily removed for duplication and controls were essentially non-existent.

Shubert specifically recalls using the report on the "Saigon Military Mission, 1954-1955" also known as the "Lansdale Report" in connection with his research efforts. He recalls making notes from the "Lansdale Report" and ultimately having his notes shipped to him at RAND, Santa Monica, California, by Colonel Paul Gorman, the Senior Military Officer on the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study. Shubert cannot recall that the complete "Lansdale Report" was ever sent to him at RAND, Santa Monica. While he can visualize using the report at the Pentagon he has no memory of its existence at RAND, Santa Monica. This document was among the research material already in the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study offices when he arrived and he does not know how it was obtained or who was responsible for getting the document. Shubert examined the documents currently maintained in the files of The RAND Corporation TOP SECRET Control Office pertinent to his studies and while he recognized much of the materials contained in the files he was unable to reconstruct specific details concerning how it was handled during the time he prepared his papers.

15. On 22 September 1971, Miss Mary Anderson, Assistant to Mr. Gustave Shubert, was interviewed by Special Agents Schellhammer and Sharp in the presence of Dr. Stires at The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California.

Miss Anderson advised: she assisted Mr. Gustave Shubert in his research efforts during the period he was assigned certain tasks pertaining to the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study. On one occasion (23-31 January 1968) she traveled to the Pentagon in Washington, D. C. to perform some research. She worked with Colonel Paul Gorman and Major Andrew Simko extracting research data from documents maintained in the security containers which held Shubert's research material. Miss Anderson does not recall ever having seen the "Saigon Military Mission Report, 1954-1955" which is also referred to as the "Lansdale Report" but she does recall Shubert talking about the paper when he was preparing his inputs to the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study. She does not know if this report was ever brought to The RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, California, although she knows that a number of handwritten notes which were generated from the

report were sent to RAND, Santa Monica, at Shubert's request by Gorman. In this regard Miss Anderson was shown a TOP SECRET log entry TS No. 3224 which reflected receipt of SMM 1954-1955 consisting of 107 pages on 6 March 1968. She recognized this entry as one relating to the "Lansdale Report," however, she reiterated that she was certain that the "Lansdale Report" was not among the papers relating to this entry. She speculated that this entry represented 107 pages of handwritten notes the initial portion of which pertained to the "Lansdale Report" and were so entitled. She speculated further that when Jan Butler, the TSCO received these handwritten notes to log in, she logged in 107 pages of material and identified the entire package using the initial caption of the material which was SMM 1954-1955. Miss Anderson said she had received no security briefing from representatives of the OSD Vietnam Task Force during the period she spent in Washington, D. C. Major Andy Simko told her where the material was and Shubert cautioned her about its sensitivity. She noted that she had done all her work in the office and had never removed or reproduced any of the material she was using. She does not feel that it would have been any problem to remove any of the documents and duplicate them if so inclined. Certain materials Shubert wanted sent to him at RAND after they departed from Washington, D. C. were identified to Colonel Gorman for subsequent shipment and some items were then reproduced by a Chief Petty Officer. Miss Anderson examined the working materials in RAND's files pertaining to Shubert's inputs to the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study, RAND TS Control No. 3220A-D which were received at RAND on 23 February 1968 and was unable to reconstruct details of this processing within the TOP SECRET Control channels.

16. On 8 October 1971 correspondence from the Director, Security Police, The Inspector General, Headquarters USAF, dated 7 October 1971, concerning The RAND Corporation security was reviewed by Special Agent Schellhammer. The correspondence was responsive to inquiries made by the OSD General Counsel during a briefing on 3 September 1971 and related to classified documents for which The RAND Corporation had not established an accountability record; security containers utilized by the company and microfilm/microfiche holdings of the company. A copy of the letter is attached to this report as Attachment 11.

17. On 12 October 1971, Miss Mary Anderson, The RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California, advised Special Agent Schellhammer that a thorough search of Mr. Gustave Shubert's records had been made in order to establish the first dates on which discussions concerning a RAND Corporation study on the decision-making processes in Vietnam were discussed. She said a file had been created at Mr. Shubert's direction with a memorandum to Mr. Shubert from Mr. Harvey Averch dated 20 March 1967 and entitled "Rand Study of National Decision Making during the Vietnam War 1959-196?" The memo, RAND Memo No. 2140, alluded to a discussion between Shubert and Averch on 17 Mar '67 during which the possibilities of a RAND Study of the Vietnam decision-making processes were discussed. Thereafter, on 30-31 March 1967, Shubert traveled to Washington, D. C. and again discussed the possibilities

of such a study with Mr. Seymour L. Deitchman, Remote Area Conflicts, Advanced Research Projects Agency, Washington, D. C. Records also disclosed that Shubert traveled to Washington on 12-13 January 1967 and 16-18 February 1967, however, no reference to any discussions concerning the Vietnam decision-making processes were located. Additionally, no record of any discussions on this subject with Mr. Morton Halperin or Mr. Ken Roberts prior to July 1967 was found.

11 Atch

1. D. Ellsberg Semiannual Inventory Jan 1968 SECRET Document Account
2. D. Ellsberg Semiannual Inventory Spring, 1969 SECRET Document Account
3. Fm 162, Classified Material Transfer Receipt, 12/20/68, D-17262-ISA
w/D. Ellsberg Semiannual Inventory Fall, 1969, SECRET Document Account
4. Fms 162, Classified Material Transfer Receipts, CL 451, M-5729, CL-1569
w/D. Ellsberg Semiannual Inventory Spring, 1970 SECRET Document Account
5. Machine Listing, D. Ellsberg Unclassified and SECRET Document Account,
dated 17 April 1970
6. RAND Inventories of D. Ellsberg TOP SECRET Semiannual Inventories for
Spring & Fall 1969, Write-ins (by JLB), Spring 1970 and Sep 70
7. MACV/RAND Ltr, undated, to The Rand Corp, Santa Monica, Calif,
P. O. Registry No. 36779, security violation by D. Ellsberg, shipment
of "Saigon Papers"
8. RAND, Mail and Records Certificate of Destruction for 64 SECRET
Documents, dated 10-2-70
9. List of Titles of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study Volumes
10. RAND TOP SECRET Control List of documents identified by Title and
TS Control Number
11. Ltr, HQ USAF (IGSP) Director of Security Police to OSD (GC) dated
7 Oct 1971

Defense Department
Office of the General Counsel
INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U.S. - Vietnam
Relations 1945-1967,
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 2 SEP 1971
Period: 17 August 1971
Status: Pending
Prepared By: Jerry C. Sharp

SUMMARY

Lt Colonel John W. Seigle, USA, was interviewed after being advised of his rights and waiving his right to have a lawyer present. He was assigned to the OSD Vietnam Task Force from approximately 5 March to 19 August 1968, initially working with Colonel Paul F. Gorman.

By August 1968, some 40 volumes had been completed and were placed in special, previously prepared blue folders with a white spiral binding. Completed volumes were reproduced in either four or five copies. One copy of the study was given to Dr. Gelb and the remaining 3 or 4 copies were stored in safes in the OSD Task Force office. All reproduction was accomplished by Task Force administrative personnel, and no distribution of the study had been made during Seigle's assignment. None of the drafts or completed volumes of the study were believed to have been entered into the OSD classified document control since they were still considered working papers and retained within the Task Force office. In January 1969, while TDY to the Pentagon, Seigle was informed by Chief Donald E. Fox, USN, that completed volumes were being dispatched to "Rand on the West Coast." On one occasion, prior to leaving the Task Force, Dr. Gelb implied that some unidentified people in the "Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research," a civilian Washington, D. C. firm, were aware of the study. Seigle recalled some unidentified members of the Task Force were under the impression Ellsberg may have made copies of some study material. Seigle was unaware of any compromise of the study prior to the recent press releases and Ellsberg publicity. He has not been contacted by the press and has not discussed the actual study with anyone other than former members of the Task Force.

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Approved:

J. Fred Buzhardt
J. FRED BUZHARDT

DETAILS

On 17 August 1971, Lt Colonel John W. Seigle, Coordinator of Army Studies, U. S. Army, The Pentagon, Washington, D. C., was interviewed by Special Agents Ralph M. Harris and Jerry C. Sharp to ascertain his knowledge concerning the unauthorized disclosure of information or documents relating to the classified study entitled "History of U. S. Decision-Making Process on Vietnam Policy - U.S." Colonel Seigle was advised of his rights under Article 31 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice and informed of the matter under investigation. He indicated he understood his rights and waived his right to have a lawyer present. He advised as follows:

He returned from Vietnam, and on 5 March 1968 was assigned to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (OSD/ISA) as Assistant for Southeast Asia Affairs, Policy Planning Staff. He was immediately placed on full-time loan to the OSD Vietnam Task Force and initially worked for a month or two with Colonel Paul F. Gorman until Gorman was reassigned to the Paris Peace Talks in Paris, France. Subsequently, he worked directly for Dr. Leslie H. Gelb, the Chairman of the Task Force, and remained with the Task Force until 19 August 1968 when he departed to attend the National War College. He believed his assignment to the Task Force resulted from his previous personal acquaintance with Dr. Gelb and Dr. Morton Halperin, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, ISA, when all three were graduate students at the Harvard Law School. In addition, he was well acquainted with Colonel Gorman and had known him in Vietnam.

The assigned personnel appeared to be very security conscious and the OSD Security Office briefed and debriefed Seigle upon his arrival and departure from OSD/ISA. Dr. Gelb also briefed him regarding the security aspects and sensitivity of the Task Force mission. In effect, he was told the over-all classification of the Task Force efforts, and resultant papers were Top Secret and were excluded from automatic downgrading. Even though some work papers and drafts were not stamped with a security classification, Colonel Seigle treated them as Top Secret documents.

Dr. Gelb promised Seigle anonymity, and stressed several times that Seigle would never be identified as the author of any inputs and that he should be completely objective in his reporting.

The following personnel were identified by Colonel Seigle as members of the Task Force at various times during his assignment:

Dr. Martin J. Bailey
Maj. Charles M. Cooke, USAF
Col. James F. Edgar, U.S.A.
Col. Michael Gillette, U.S.A.
Mr. Hans Heymann, Rand
Dr. Richard Holbrook, State Dept.
Dr. Edward C. Janicik
Mr. Paul H. Johnstone
Mr. Howard N. Margolis

Mr. Ernest R. May
Col. Dana G. Mead, U.S.A.
Mr. Willard H. Mitchell, OASD/ISA
Dr. Richard Moorsteen
Mr. John Ponturo
Col. Andrew M. Simko, U.S.A.
Col. William E. Simons, USAF
Col. Dale O. Vesser, U.S.A.
Dr. Richard Ullman, Princeton Univ.

Administrative Staff

Margaret S. Enright, Secretary
Delores Nagy, Secretary
Vera Nutt, Secretary

Donald E. Fox, CPO, USN
Susan Lemos (nee Stensrud)
Karla G. Von Huben, Sgt, USMC

In addition, two part-time typists -- names not recalled -- occasionally worked for the Task Force.

Mr. Johnstone left the Task Force two or three weeks after Seigle arrived, and Ullman, Margolis, May, and Bailey worked only part-time. The remainder of the research members of the Task Force worked full time until their assigned projects were completed or they departed for other duties. Seigle was personally acquainted with Colonels Dana G. Mead and James F. Edgar, then stationed at the United States Military Academy, West Point, N. Y., and was responsible for arranging their assignment to the OSD Task Force. Mead and Edgar were considered capable of performing the necessary research and writing to prepare the Task Force inputs.

His first assignment with the Task Force was to evaluate and rewrite an input on the Strategic Hamlet Program. The rewrite of that input was completed, and he was then given the section entitled The Advisory Effort for editing and finalizing. The next assignment given him was a rewrite of the draft input on The Taylor Mission and Aftermath which had been prepared by Dr. Daniel Ellsberg. The Ellsberg input had been dispatched from Rand, and Seigle had the impression Ellsberg prepared the draft at Rand in California. He could provide no further details concerning receipt of this draft by the OSD Task Force.

After completing the rewrite of the Ellsberg input, Dr. Gelb gave him several finalized inputs and asked Seigle to prepare a summary and analysis section for each group of inputs. Each group of inputs was

scheduled to be bound into volumes with a summary and analysis added to each volume. Seigle did not remember the specific volumes for which he prepared a summary and analysis, and did not know if these sections were used as written or revised by Dr. Gelb. Vesser was working on the section entitled The Advisory Build-Up when Seigle first reported to the Task Force. As he recalled, the title of this section was changed to The Advisory Effort and given to Seigle for final preparation. The section entitled Origins of the Insurgency was completed by Colonel Paul Gorman prior to Gorman's reassignment, and Gillette worked on the sections titled U. S. Marines at Da Nang and COMUSMACV's 44th Battalion Decision. Mead and Edgar worked on the Evolution of Missions for U. S. Land Forces and The Build-Up sections.

Ellsberg never visited the OSD Task Force in the Pentagon during Seigle's assignment, and Seigle had no direct association with Ellsberg during that time. He had previously met Ellsberg, and believes the introduction occurred at the 1963 Counterinsurgency Conference held at West Point. This was the only time Seigle ever met Ellsberg, and he never associated with him in any manner subsequent to that meeting.

Most reference and research material used by the OSD Task Force was already in the Task Force offices when Colonel Seigle arrived. He had occasion to review supplementary research data at The Research Analysis Corporation; the U. S. Army Library; Office, Chief of Military History (OCMH); Joint Chiefs of Staff Historian's Office; Department of Defense Historical Staff Office and the OSD Cable Room Branch. The only individual Seigle recalled specifically contacting was Mr. Rudolph A. Winnacker, Department of Defense Historical Staff Office. He does not recall personally receiving any documents from the agencies and individuals contacted and surmized, if such documents were needed, an official, receipted transfer would have been made to the OSD Task Force. He never had access to the report on The Saigon Military Mission 54/55 (Lansdale Report). He had access to a series of documents known as the "McNaughton Notebooks." These notebooks were extremely sensitive and were retained by Dr. Gelb with very limited access being granted OSD Task Force personnel. Mr. Mitchell is believed to have taken possession of the McNaughton Notebooks after Dr. Gelb returned to his OSD/ISA office during approximately July 1968. All other reference material in the OSD Task Force offices was available to all Task Force members without restriction. Admission to the office was by personal recognition, and all personnel used the reference material within the office without any formal classified document control paperwork. All documents, work papers, and reference material, even if not classified, were secured in safes at night or when not in use.

Copies of his inputs or the inputs of others were not promised him and he retained none on departure from the OSD Task Force. After their purposes were served, he or the Task Force administrative staff destroyed all his notes and rough drafts. The finalized approved inputs were prepared in original only, and a copy of the back-up documents was appended thereto when submitted to Dr. Gelb. The disposition of the original inputs and the support documents was unknown to Colonel Seigle. The term "ribbon copy" was not familiar to Seigle. The research documents and source documents remained in safes in the OSD Task Force offices, and final disposition had not been made when Seigle departed from the OSD Task Force assignment.

As the inputs were approved by Dr. Gelb, they were usually given to the civilian secretaries who made four or five xerox copies. Generally, the Xerox machine in the office was used; but frequently other Xerox machines in other DoD offices, such as the Cable Room, would be used for reproduction. As completed volumes of the study were xeroxed, they were given to Chief Donald E. Fox, USN, to assemble and bind in preprinted blue covers already in the office when Seigle arrived. The finished volumes of the study were fastened with a "white plastic spiral binder." As the finished volumes were bound, one copy was given to Dr. Gelb and the remaining three or four copies placed by volume in safes located in the OSD Task Force offices. When he departed in August 1968, Colonel Seigle recalled some 40 volumes of the study had been completed and bound. At the time of his departure from the Task Force, none of the drafts or completed volumes of the study had been entered into the OSD Classified Document Control since they were still considered working papers and retained under control of the OSD Task Force and Dr. Gelb.

During Colonel Seigle's assignment the OSD Task Force worked in several locations within the Pentagon. Initially their offices were located adjacent to the Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, and Dr. Gelb had his office directly across the hall. Some time during July 1968, exact date not recalled, the Task Force moved their operations to offices in C-Ring, 2d Floor, between the 2d and 3d corridors. This move occurred at the same time Dr. Gelb returned to his regular office in OSD/ISA on the 4th Floor. Subsequently, the Task Force again moved to a 2d Floor E-Ring conference room between the 2d and 3d corridors. Lt Colonels Mead and Edgar also worked until late summer 1968 on the 4th floor in offices of the OSD/ISA.

During his assignment to the OSD Task Force, no one to Seigle's knowledge was permitted to remove classified documents or to work on the project outside the OSD Task Force offices except to gather research data from other agencies.

Seigle returned on TDY to the Pentagon on 1 December 1968 to assist in writing an article on the Vietnam War for General Westmoreland, and remained until 21 January 1969. During this period he stopped at the offices of the Policy Planning Staff and saw Chief Fox with several sealed boxes. Chief Fox informed Seigle the boxes contained volumes of the study and were being dispatched to "Rand on the West Coast." Seigle and Fox voiced concern that a copy of the Top Secret study would be furnished to Rand. He knew of no one else who received a copy of the study, although he had heard rumors from unknown sources that Mr. Paul Warnke, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs and the OSD/ISA office were each to receive a copy. He also heard from an unrecalled source that the OSD/ISA copy was later recalled after the press release of the study was made on 13 June 1971. Colonel Seigle was unaware of any unauthorized disclosure of the contents of the OSD Study while he was assigned to the Task Force, but he recalled that several members of the U. S. Military and OSD Staffs, who were not Task Force members, mentioned the study to him. He was of the impression they were aware of at least some ramifications of the project to include the knowledge he was working on the study. It appeared some of those individuals had expressed knowledge of the study in an unsuccessful attempt to elicit additional information from him. The names of these individuals are no longer recalled by Colonel Seigle. On one occasion he attended a party at the invitation of Mr. Thomas Scoville, OCMH, to celebrate Colonel Bob Montague's selection for promotion to Brigadier General. While at the party, Scoville indicated he knew Seigle had prepared the section on the Advisory Effort. Scoville did not further discuss the matter, but said he would like to call Seigle later to discuss Vietnam pacification. Seigle did not know if Scoville's interest was official, personal, or private; therefore, he did not respond to Scoville's request and the topic was dropped. He has not discussed the matter with Scoville, and Scoville has not re-contacted him.

The source of Scoville's information regarding the author of the Advisory Effort section is unknown; and since no follow-up was made by

Scoville, Seigle did not report the incident to Dr. Gelb. During Seigle's assignment to the OSD Task Force, Dr. Gelb implied that unidentified representatives of the "Washington Center for Foreign Policy Research," a civilian Washington, D. C. firm were aware of the study. Dr. Gelb's source for this information was unknown and Seigle was unaware of the basis for the comment.

During a discussion with members of the OSD Task Force, a passing comment was made to the effect that "Ellsberg and who knows who else may be making personal copies of the study." In the opinion of Seigle, the comment was unsubstantiated and he cannot recall who made it or the identities of the Task Force members who participated in the discussion.

Seigle has not discussed the OSD Task Force Study with anyone other than members and former members of the Task Force. He knows of no contact by the press with any members of the Task Force and was unaware the press had obtained information on the study until the press release was made on 13 June 1971. Subsequent to the press release, he contacted Dr. Gelb, Colonel Gillette, Colonels Mead and Simons to secure their reactions; the consensus was that only Ellsberg would have been capable of such actions. Consensus was based upon personal opinion, and Seigle was unaware of any information to support this conclusion.

Those individuals mentioned in this report are fully identified as follows:

Colonel Paul F. Gorman, U. S. Army, Fort Benning, Georgia

Dr. Leslie H. Gelb, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Morton H. Halperin, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, M.I.T., Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dr. Martin J. Bailey, last known to be at University of Rochester, BA College, New York

Charles M. Cooke, former U. S. Army Major. Presently civilian Administrative Assistant to Secretary, Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

Lt Colonel James F. Edgar, U. S. Army, Hq MACV, 3rd Corps,
Republic of South Vietnam

Michael J. Gillette, former U. S. Army Colonel, currently a
civilian employee at World Bank, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Hans Heymann, RAND California

Dr. Richard D. Holbrook, U. S. State Department, Washington,
D. C.

Dr. Edward C. Janicik, former Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA)
employee, 4000 Tunlaw Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Dr. Paul H. Johnstone, [redacted]

Howard N. Margolis, Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), Washington,
D. C.

Ernest R. May, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Lt Colonel Dana G. Mead, U. S. Army, assigned as Special Assistant
to The President of the United States for Domestic Affairs, Old Executive
Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Willard H. Mitchell, OSD /ISA

Dr. Richard Moorsteen, RAND California

John Ponturo, Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), Washington,
D. C.

Colonel Andrew M. Simko, U. S. Army (deceased)

Colonel William E. Simons, USAF, OSD/ISA

Lt Colonel Dale A. Vesser, U. S. Army, The Pentagon, Washington,
D. C.

Richard Ullman, Princeton University, New Jersey

Margaret S. Enright, Room 4D810, The Pentagon, Washington,
D. C.

Delores E. Nagy, U. S. State Department, Washington, D. C.

Vera Nutt, OSD, The Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

Donald E. Fox, CPO (Retired) USN, [REDACTED]

Susan Lemos (nee Stensrud), Norfolk, Virginia

Miss Karla G. Van Huben, [REDACTED]
(Sgt, US Marine Corps Reserve)

Rudolph A. Winnacker, Department of Defense Historical Office,
Washington, D. C.

General W. C. Westmoreland, U. S. Army Chief of Staff, The
Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

Thomas Scoville, OCMH, Washington, D. C.

Colonel Robert M. Montague, Jr., Office of the Chief of Staff,
U. S. Army, The Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

Defense Department
Office of the General Counsel
INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U.S. - Vietnam
Relations 1945-1967,
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 28 AUG 1971
Period: 12 August 1971.
Status: Closed
Prepared By: Dallas G. Weddle

SUMMARY

Mrs. William Lemos, formerly Susan Stensrud, wife of Rear Admiral Lemos advised that in the winter of 1967, she was directed by Dr. Leslie Gelb, Chairman, OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group) to prepare a history of the US-French withdrawal from Vietnam 1954-1956. During this preparation she worked alone, and for the most part her time was spent in the Historical Section, Joint Chiefs of Staff. She was not allowed to reproduce or remove any documents from the Historical Section, Joint Chiefs of Staff, but was permitted to make notes. She did her own rough draft typing and after Dr. Gelb approved the draft it was typed final, single-spaced, in an original only. Mrs. Lemos did not recall ever seeing her finished study after she had proofread the final typing. She never saw any bound volumes, but did recall seeing covers available for binding the final report(s). After she completed her study in approximately May 1968 she assisted Mr. Willard Mitchell in writing chronologies of studies prepared by other Study Group members. She was able to specifically identify three studies (volumes) she prepared chronologies for and indicated she might have prepared a chronology for a fourth study. The studies prepared by other Study Group members, at the time she saw them, were unbound in manila folders. Mrs. Lemos had no knowledge of the McNaughton, Warnke, Gelb, et al "private papers" and she could not recall using any of Secretary McNamara's briefing books to prepare her study. She has made no unauthorized disclosure of any material or information relating to the Gelb Study to anyone.

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Approved
J. Fred Buzhardt
J. FRED BUZHARDT

1427

Volume IV.C.1.d., "Tonkin Gulf and the Following Political Crisis."
Volume IV.C.3., "The Rolling Thunder Program Begins."
Volume IV.C.4., "Marine Combat Units Go To Da Nang, March 1965."

She was not certain, but she may have prepared a chronology on Volume IV.C.7(a), "Air War In The North 1965-68: Vol.I." Mrs. Lemos also edited some of the volumes, but was unable to recall any of the titles from a review of the index. All volumes she saw were in manila folders and were unbound.

Mrs. Lemos had no knowledge of the McNaughton, Warnke, Gelb, et al, "private papers." She has heard of the Lansdale Report, but she does not believe it was available to the Study Group. She was definite she did not use the McNamara briefing books to prepare her study and she could not recall seeing any of the books.

She has known Dr. Daniel Ellsberg since 1965, having met him socially through a friend. She does not know him well, only to speak when she sees him. Dr. Ellsberg, in her opinion, had completed his work with the Study Group before she was assigned. While she had heard rumors that Dr. Gelb was unhappy with Dr. Ellsberg over the amount of time it took for him to complete his work, she cannot recall who made the comment.

Mrs. Lemos could only recall Dr. Leslie Gelb, Dr. Melvin Gurto, Colonel Paul Gorman, Mr. Willard Mitchell, and Margaret Enright being assigned to the Study Group. These individuals are further identified as follows:

Dr. Leslie Gelb, Chairman of the Study Group :
Believed to be with Brookings Institute

Dr. Melvin Gurto
University of California at Riverside, California

Colonel Paul F. Gorman, Deputy to Dr. Gelb
Phu Bai, Vietnam

Mr. Willard H. Mitchell
OSD/ISA, Room 4C-760, Pentagon, telephone OX 55678

Margaret S. Enright
Secretary of the Air Force (Instal & Logistics), Room 4D-870
Pentagon, telephone OX 76273

She has made no unauthorized disclosure of any material or information to anyone concerning the Gelb Study. She has discussed it with her husband, Rear Admiral Lemos, but only in a generalized discussion of the various newspaper articles.

DETAILS

On 12 August 1971, Mrs. Susan Lemos, wife of Rear Admiral William Jenos, formerly Miss Susan Stensrud, was interviewed in her quarters,

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by Special

Agents Robert H. Eagan and Dallas G. Weddle. After Mrs. Lemos was briefed on the nature and sensitivity of this investigation, she expressed her desire to cooperate to the fullest extent possible and signified she was aware of her right to consult with legal counsel. Mrs. Lemos advised she worked as a Research Analyst for Dr. Leslie Gelb in International Security Affairs (ISA) prior to the time the OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group) was formed. To the best of her memory, sometime in the winter of 1967, exact month unknown, Dr. Gelb, Chairman of the Study Group, assigned her the task of researching and preparing a study concerning the United States and French withdrawal from Vietnam, 1954 through 1956. (Actual title from index: Volume IV, A.3, U. S. and France's Withdrawal from Vietnam, 1954-1956.) Dr. Gelb gave her a limited briefing on what he expected her to accomplish. She spent about 50 percent of her time between this assignment and her regular job in ISA. Colonel Paul F. Gorman gave her a complete security briefing and stressed the importance of not discussing the study with anyone outside the office. She stated Colonel Gorman appeared to be the intermediary between the Study Group members and Dr. Gelb. She preferred working for Colonel Gorman, as his instructions were clear with no chance for misunderstanding. He was very exacting and demanding, and he and Dr. Gelb were constantly reminding the Study Group members of the short suspense assigned for the completion of the total study. She was not aware of the complete scope of the study. When she worked with the Study Group it was usually in a room across the hall from Secretary McNamara's suite, and generally there were about eight people working in the room. The majority of her time was spent in the Historical Section, Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), researching and reviewing documents necessary to complete her project. Dr. Gelb and Colonel Gorman made the necessary arrangements for her to have access to the JCS Historical files which were in the custody of Mr. Wilbur Hoare. She was not allowed to remove or reproduce any documents from the JCS records, nor could she take any documents from the JCS area, but she could make notes. She worked alone on her project, and did most of her own typing. When she completed her assignment, which was about May 1968, she submitted it in draft as a complete package. She recalled submitting two or three separate drafts before her study was approved. It was then typed by a typist assigned to the Study Group in final form, in an original only. She reviewed the finished study and never saw it again after it was submitted for the final time to Dr. Gelb. Mrs. Lemos had no idea how the study was bound on completion, as she never saw any bound volumes, although she did recall seeing some blue covers in the office and assumed these would be used for the finished study. After she finished her assignment she stayed in the general area and worked with Mr. Willard Mitchell in preparing chronologies of other studies prepared by the Study Group's members. After a review of the study index she was able to recall preparing chronologies on the following studies (volumes):

1427

Defense Department
Office of the General Counsel
INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U.S. - Vietnam
Relations 1945-1967
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 9 SEP 1971
Period: 25 August 1971
Status: Pending
Prepared By: Ralph M. Harris

SUMMARY

Mr. John (NMI) Ponturo, Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), Washington, D.C. was assigned to OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group) from December 1967 to April 1968. He prepared a monograph on the Air War in the North, and his last assignment was to critically review Dr. Daniel Ellsberg's input on the "1961/1962 Kennedy Decisions and the Taylor Mission." During discussions with Ellsberg in February or March 1968 regarding this input, it was obvious that Ellsberg had lost his objectivity, considered the Vietnam War a "doomsday affair," and was extremely critical of the U.S. position. Ponturo recognized papers marked "Ponturo Notes" as a copy of his original notes for a "crisis study" prepared for the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group (WSEG). He was unaware these notes had been provided Rand, and could not recall their being used by the Gelb Study Group. The Gulf of Tonkin Study prepared by Ponturo in 1964 was the only WSEG Study known to have been used by the Gelb Study Group. No summaries of the Gulf of Tonkin Study were known to have been made, but he considered it likely in view of Senator Fulbright's subsequent hearing on the incident. Ponturo denied ever working on NSAM 273 and was unfamiliar with that section. He recognized the draft on the Air War contained in a large green three-ring notebook as a xerox copy of his original, but had never seen the notebook while assigned to the Study Group. A copy of Ponturo's input was provided IDA under terms of a task order, and a separate IDA study was made, based upon this input. Ponturo has never discussed the OSD Vietnam Study with any unauthorized personnel, and has never been asked any questions concerning the Study or his input. On two occasions since the 13 June 1971 publicity, representatives of the press have telephonically contacted his office and residence, but he did not return these calls and is unaware if these concerned the OSD Vietnam Study or the earlier Gulf of Tonkin incident.

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DETAILS

On 25 August 1971, Mr. John (NMN) Ponturo, consultant, International Studies Division, Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), Washington, D. C. was interviewed to determine his knowledge concerning the unauthorized disclosure of information or documents relating to the classified study entitled, "History of U. S. Decision-Making Process on Vietnam Policy-U.S." Mr. Ponturo stated essentially as follows:

He was initially assigned to the OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group) in December 1967 and remained with the Study Group until approximately April 1968. When first assigned, he was briefed by Dr. Leslie H. Gelb on the sensitive nature of the project and specifically told not to discuss it with anyone outside the Study Group. Dr. Gelb told him to prepare a monograph on the Air War in the North for the period July 1965 to 1967. His principle duty consisted of preparing this monograph, but in approximately February or March 1968, he was asked by Dr. Gelb to review and comment on Dr. Daniel Ellsberg's input concerning the "1961/1962 Kennedy Decisions and Taylor Mission". He recalled Dr. Gelb had been very dissatisfied with Ellsberg's work and had directed Ellsberg to "produce or else". As a result of these urgings, Ellsberg had dictated a "several hundred" page document which had been submitted to Dr. Gelb from Rand, California. Dr. Gelb was very disappointed with the input, and at Dr. Gelb's request, Ponturo prepared a 10 or 12 page critical review and analysis of the input. The input from Ellsberg was extremely unprofessional, poorly written and devoted entirely too much attention to the era prior to the more critical Kennedy decisions in 1961. Ellsberg was brought into the Pentagon to discuss the input and Ponturo recalled several arguments with Ellsberg over his approach and overall direction. During these discussions, Ellsberg was extremely critical of the United States position and considered the Vietnam War a "doomsday" type situation. Ellsberg gave no indication he intended to provide unauthorized personnel with information concerning the Study, but Ponturo, Dr. Gelb, and Colonel Gorman were well aware of his changed attitude, lack of objectivity and dissatisfaction with the U. S. position on Vietnam. Ellsberg's input was discussed with Dr. Gelb, who apparently agreed with Ponturo's evaluation since he "canned" Ellsberg almost immediately thereafter. Mr. Howard M. Margolis from IDA was assigned to "salvage" the Ellsberg input, and shortly after his arrival, Ellsberg returned again from Rand for a very short period of time to discuss the input with

Margolis. This was the last time Ponturo ever saw Ellsberg in the Task Force office. He and other members of the Task Force, whose names he cannot now recall, believed that Ellsberg during these last visits to the Pentagon was preparing memorandums from material, not further identified, available to him in OSD/ISA. At the time, they did not believe that any of this material Ellsberg was reportedly using in OSD/ISA related in any way to the Study being prepared by the OSD Task Force, but considered it was probably for a separate Rand/DoD Study. Ponturo was under the impression that Ellsberg very likely obtained this material through his friendship with Dr. Morton H. Halperin, OSD/ISA.

He reviewed a Task Force status report dated 23 November 1967 which reflected his name as the author of "NSAM 273". He categorically denied ever having prepared any inputs concerning NSAM 273 and was unfamiliar with the content of that section. He reviewed a folder containing xerox papers marked "Ponturo Notes". These papers are stamped in the margin with the word "Rand". Ponturo recalled he had prepared the original of these notes while assigned to the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group (WSEG). The notes related to a "crisis study" he had prepared for WSEG. For some reason, this particular study was never published, and he believed the notes had been left in a safe in WSEG when he discontinued his work with WSEG. He could not specifically recall ever using these notes with the Gelb Study Group but considered it entirely possible that in discussions with Dr. Gelb, he may have referred to them or even obtained them from WSEG to show Dr. Gelb. He was positive he had never made any xerox copies of these notes and was not aware that xerox copies had been made or subsequently provided Rand. He expressed surprise this would be done without his knowledge or consent since they represented his working notes and papers prepared for WSEG. He was completely unaware of how or where his name was entered on the notes and was unfamiliar with any of the markings on the xerox copy. After careful review, he recognized all individual pages as copies from his own original notes except the last three pages which concerned a completely separate and unfamiliar WSEG document.

The only known WSEG Study to which the Gelb Study Group had access was the "Gulf of Tonkin Study," which Ponturo had prepared during 1964. This Study, the "McNaughton notebooks" and a sensitive Study regarding Laos were personally retained by Dr. Gelb. Personnel assigned to the Task Force could use this material but only with the personal approval of Dr. Gelb. While Ponturo had written the Gulf of Tonkin Study he was unaware of any summaries ever being made from the Study, but considered

it likely summaries of the Study may have been made for Secretary McNamara or other OSD officials as a result of Senator Fulbright's subsequent hearings on the incident. Copies of the Gulf of Tonkin Study were available in 1964 to Assistant Secretary McNaughton, OSD/ISA and it was presumably available to Ellsberg who was then assigned to OSD/ISA.

He reviewed a draft of the Air War 1965 to 1967 contained in a large green three-ring notebook and identified the draft as a xerox copy of his original copy. He was unaware the draft had been placed in the notebook and had never seen such a notebook while assigned to the Study Group. Ponturo reviewed the completed section on the Air War as contained in the final Study, and noted it had been changed considerably and expanded from his original draft.

When he was first assigned to the Study, IDA obtained a Task Order in compliance with their contract which permitted him to work for the Gelb Study Group. The decision was made by Assistant Secretary Halperin, Dr. Gelb, Assistant Secretary Warnke and General Maxwell D. Taylor, U.S.A. (Retired), President of IDA, that IDA would be provided a copy of his input. At the same time Ponturo's immediate supervisor, Mr. Chester L. Cooper, Mr. Walter Hahn, and General Taylor, all of IDA, were granted permission to review his product to insure it met IDA requirements. In this manner his work was actually accomplished for IDA under a specific task force order number and was available for IDA's use. Mr. Walter Hahn, International Studies Division, IDA subsequently edited his input and prepared it in IDA format for permanent retention by IDA.

During his assignment to the Gelb Study Group, he had a Top Secret security clearance and believed he may have had a special intelligence (SI) clearance. He continues to hold a valid Top Secret SI clearance as a result of his present employment with IDA.

In addition to Margolis and himself, two other IDA personnel were assigned to the Gelb Study Group at various times during this period. Mr. Edward C. Janicik, who is no longer employed by IDA, had worked primarily on the movement of ground forces, force withdrawal and evolution of the ground war. Dr. Paul H. Johnstone, who has since retired from IDA, was primarily concerned with the Vietnam pacification problems during the 1962-1964 period. He was positive Mr. Charles E. Fritz, IDA, never worked with the Gelb Study Group but was aware some of Fritz's earlier WSEG studies relating to "Flaming Darts" and "Rolling

"Thunder" were used by the Study Group. He recalled other personnel assigned to the Task Force at that time:

Mr. Willard H. Mitchell

OSD/ISA

Col William E. Simons

USAF, OSD/ISA

Col Paul F. Gorman

U. S. Army, Fort Benning, Ga.
(who was the Executive Director
for the Gelb Study Group)

Dr. Hans Heyman

Rand, California

Col Andrew M. Simko

U. S. Army (deceased)

Lt Col John W. Seigle

Coordinator for Army Studies,
U. S. Army, The Pentagon,
Washington, D. C.

Lt Col Dale A. Vesser

U. S. Army, Armor School,
Ft Knox, Kentucky

Mr. Michael J. Gillette ~~etc. etc.~~ (former U. S. Army Major).
Currently working at World Bank

Dr. Melvin Gurtov

Rand, California

In addition, there were two secretaries, names not recalled, and a Chief Donald E. Fox, USN, handling the administrative support for the Study Group.

Ponturo accomplished the majority of his work on his input in the Study Group office at the Pentagon but while uncertain, considered it probable that some of his work on his input was done at IDA. Upon completion of his input, he provided the draft in approximately February 1968 to Dr. Gelb, who reproduced an unknown number of copies for immediate office use. The original was handcarried by Ponturo to IDA where it was reviewed and commented upon by Mr. Cooper and General Taylor. It was very possible he had taken draft notes and other research data to IDA during this time but did not believe any of this material other than the subsequent IDA Study which was made from his original input was retained at IDA.

Prior to his departure from the Gelb Study Gro[] he had seen two or three volumes of the OSD Study in blue covers on a desk in the Group's office, however, he was unaware of how these volumes were bound or what they actually contained. In addition, he was unaware of the intended distribution of the Study but had the impression that only four copies would be made for very limited distribution. Some months later while doing some research on a separate IDA/DoD project concerning Australia, he was in Dr. Gelb's office in OSD/ISA and noticed many volumes of the same blue bound Study in the office. He asked Gelb what was being done on the Study and Gelb informed him that the volumes were being reproduced for distribution. Dr. Gelb refused to say who was being provided copies and would not discuss the distribution with Ponturo.

Ponturo was not aware of any personal difficulties or conflicts within the Gelb Study Group and to his knowledge none of the participants had ever expressed any desire not to be identified with the Study. At no time was Ponturo promised anonymity however, it was Ponturo's impression that no individuals would be cited by name and it was to be a Group effort under the leadership of Dr. Gelb.

Assigned personnel were free to use the research and background material within the office except for the sensitive material previously mentioned, which was personally retained by Dr. Gelb. Initially, members freely exchanged ideas, and discussed their respective inputs within the office area; however, Dr. Gelb and Col Gorman subsequently discouraged this to prevent individual members from becoming overly knowledgeable of the entire study.

Ponturo's input and draft copy was classified Top Secret and handled as such, both within the Study Group and by IDA. He was unaware of any internal classified controls used by Dr. Gelb but was aware of his Top Secret draft being placed under security control at IDA.

He first became acquainted with Dr. Daniel Ellsberg in 1963 or 1964 when Ellsberg, a Rand consultant, became involved with a Contingency Coordinating Study for the Department of Defense, and discussed "Crisis Studies" and other decision-making processes with Ponturo at WSEG. On several occasions during 1963 or 1964 Ellsberg was seen in the National Military Command Center and Ponturo recalled one specific incident where Ellsberg telephonically obtained information from Vietnam for the Center. Ponturo had only this very limited official association with Ellsberg other than his discussions with Ellsberg in February or

March 1968 as previously mentioned. This was the last time Ponturo met or talked with Ellsberg and he has had no association with him since that time.

Ponturo was unaware of any material concerning the Study being dispatched to Rand or having been given to Ellsberg. He was aware that Colonel Simons and Dr. Gurtov had worked on part of the Study at Rand, California and presumed that some research and background material must have been available to them at that time in California.

Ponturo has never discussed the contents of the Gelb Study or his input with any unauthorized personnel and has never been asked questions concerning the Study by anyone. On 14 June 1971, Ponturo's IDA office was telephonically contacted by Anthony Bostin of the New York Times. On another occasion, exact date not recalled, a Mr. James Polk, representative of the AP Wire Service, telephonically contacted his residence. Ponturo never returned either of these calls and has no intention of discussing the OSD Vietnam Study or any other official matter with representatives of the press. Ponturo was not certain that the above cited attempts actually concerned the OSD Vietnam Study, since he has been previously cited by name in the Senator Fulbright hearings concerning the Gulf of Tonkin incident, and it is considered entirely possible that the press representatives may have been concerned with this earlier incident. He had no direct knowledge of any former Task Force members being contacted concerning their work on the OSD Vietnam Study but he had heard that Dr. Janicik had been approached by unidentified person(s) with some vague reference to the Study.

Mr. Margolis told Ponturo that a representative of Jack Anderson, columnist with The Washington Post, had called the IDA office for Margolis on approximately 11 August 1971. Margolis said he had refused to talk with the press representative and the purpose of the call was not known.

Those individuals mentioned in this report are further identified as:

Dr. Leslie H. Gelb, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, M. I. T., Cambridge, Massachusetts

Colonel Paul F. Gorman, U. S. Army, Fort Benning, Ga.

Morton H. Halperin, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Robert S. McNamara, World Bank, Washington, D. C.

Senator J. W. Fulbright, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C.

General Maxwell D. Taylor, U. S. Army (Retired), President,
Institute for Defense Analysis, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Walter Hahn, Institute for Defense Analyses, Washington, D. C.

Chester L. Cooper, Institute for Defense Analyses, Washington, D. C.

Howard N. Margolis, Institute for Defense Analyses, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Edward C. Banicik (former Institute for Defense Analyses
employee), 4000 Tunlaw Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Dr. Paul H. Johnstone, [redacted]

Charles E. Fritz, Institute for Defense Analyses, Washington, D. C.

Willard H. Mitchell, OSD/ISA

Mr. Donald W. Fox, (Retired CPO USN), [redacted]

Defense Department
Office of the General Counsel
INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U. S.-Vietnam
Relations 1945 - 1967,
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 2 SEP 1971
Period: 19 August 1971
Status: Pending
Prepared By: John H. Kramb

SUMMARY

Lt Colonel Cornelius Joseph Gearin, U. S. Army, was interviewed after being advised of his rights and waiving his right to have a lawyer present. He was an OSD Vietnam Task Force member from June to October 1967 and during this time prepared a chronological history of Vietnam events for the periods 1953-1954 and 1963-1964 to include the analyses. Generally he worked alone but he coordinated some related work with Melvin Gurtov, another Task Force member. All of his work was submitted to Col Paul Gorman for review. No Task Force papers have been retained by Gearin, nor has he seen published volumes of the Task Force report. He knows Ellsberg personally having initially met him as a member of the Task Force. They worked in separate offices, therefore he had little or no knowledge of Ellsberg's activities. While the majority of his association with Ellsberg was limited to office contact only, he recalls talking with Ellsberg at the Joint Arms Seminar, Cambridge, Mass. in November 1970 after Ellsberg delivered a speech. Their conversation concerned "war stories" about Vietnam since Gearin had recently returned from that area. Gearin has made no unauthorized disclosure of any material or information relating to the Task Force report to anyone nor has he been approached to furnish such information.

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Cornelius Joseph Gearin, Lt Colonel, U. S. Army, [redacted] Chief of Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions Team, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations, U. S. Army, was interviewed by Special Agents William L. Richards and John H. Kramb on 19 August 1971 after being advised of his rights under Article 31, UCMJ, the nature of the matter under investigation, and of his right to consult with a lawyer. He acknowledged that he understood his rights and waived his right to have a lawyer present. Lt Colonel Gearin advised essentially as follows:

He was assigned to the OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group) from approximately June to mid-October 1967 on temporary duty from his instructor assignment at the U. S. Army Command and General Staff College, Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. Gearin received orders for the temporary assignment after Lt Colonel Robert Gard, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense contacted the college and requested him because he was considered an expert on Vietnam. Gearin was briefed by Colonel Paul Gorman, a Task Force member, and Dr. Leslie Gelb, Task Force Chairman, regarding the over-all parameters of the study and that different people were working on different periods of time as well as area topics. Gearin was assigned to prepare a chronological history of Vietnam events for the periods 1953-54 and 1963-64. Gelb reserved the right to edit and review Gearin's work; and although it never happened to Gearin, members were supposed to see their edited work. Gearin's only discussions concerning the over-all study were limited to Gelb and Gorman with whom he had daily contact.

Gearin wrote out all original drafts and gave them to one of the secretaries, either Anne R. Wassil or Margaret S. Enright, for typing; however, he could not recall the number of draft copies prepared from his handwritten drafts. He submitted his input to Gorman for review in draft, double-spaced type form. After proofing his typed drafts, he placed all of his handwritten notes and any retyped papers in the burn bag for destruction. He did not receive a carbon copy of his input. After each section of the chronological history, Gearin prepared an analysis.

Gearin worked almost exclusively alone; however, some related work regarding the Geneva Convention was coordinated with Melvin Gurtov, a Task Force member. This effort included review of cable files at the State Department. His work was conducted in one of the rooms assigned to the Task Force in the OSD suite, the Pentagon.

Morton Halperin, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Policy, Plans and Arms Control), International Security Affairs, Gelb, Gorman, Philip A.

Odeen and he participated in a round-table discussion of Gurtov's input. This was the only time Gearin participated in the review of another member's work. Gurtov's papers were in a black three-ring notebook, and he assumed they were in final draft form.

In addition to those mentioned above, a Dr. William W. Kaufman, Professor at MIT, worked a short time during the early period of the Task Force. Dr. Kaufman did review some papers of the members, but Gearin does not believe Kaufman authored any reports. Kaufman is a close, personal friend to the then Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara. Gearin believed Kaufman became disenchanted with the project, reason unknown, and left the program.

Gearin knows Ellsberg personally, having initially met him as a member of the Task Force Group. Their conversation was general in nature, and never included content of the Task Force work. Ellsberg worked on the Task Force across the hall from Gearin in an office with Richard Moorsteen, a Rand consultant. Subsequent to the Task Force, he saw Ellsberg at the Joint Arms Seminar, Cambridge, Massachusetts both in 1969 and November 1970. In 1969 he did not talk with Ellsberg, but Ellsberg gave a presentation at the November 1970 Seminar and Gearin spoke with him briefly after this. Their discussion in November 1970 centered around Vietnam "war stories" since Gearin had recently returned from that area. He described Ellsberg as a "spoiled brat" who thought he knew more than others, and considers Ellsberg's actions of releasing classified information, if true, as traitorous. Ellsberg, during some of their discussions on Vietnam, did not question the morality of the war but, rather, the mechanics of its prosecution.

Gearin has retained no papers prepared in connection with the Task Force and has not had access to the final published volumes of the Vietnam Task Force report. He is unaware of any security censures meted out to any member of the Task Force Group. Gearin has made no unauthorized disclosure of any material or information relating to the Task Force report to anyone nor has he been approached to furnish such information.

Those individuals mentioned in this report are further identified as:

Dr. Leslie Gelb, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Lt Colonel Robert G. Gard (now a Brigadier General), Discipline and Drug Policy Office, DCSPER, U.S. Army, the Pentagon.

Colonel Paul F. Gorman, U.S. Army, Ft. Benning, Georgia.

Melvin Gurto^v, University of California at Riverside, California.

Philip A. Odeen, OSD/ISA, Room 2E-812, The Pentagon.

Dr. Morton H. Halperin, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Dr. William W. Kaufman, Professor, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Daniel Ellsberg, 10 Hilliard Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Miss Margaret S. Enright, Secretary, SAFIL, Room 4D-870, The Pentagon.

Miss Anne R. Wassil, Secretary, SAFL, Room 5D-934, The Pentagon.

Dr. Richard Moorsteen, RAND, 1700 Main Street, Santa Monica, California.

Robert S. McNamara, World Bank, Washington, D. C.

Defense Department
Office of the General Counsel
INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U. S. - Vietnam
Relations 1945-1967,
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 30 AUG 1971
Period: 20 August 1971
Status: Pending
Prepared By: Herbert S. Fowkes, Jr.

SUMMARY

Lt Colonel Vesser, after being advised of his rights and waiving his right to have a lawyer present was interviewed at Fort Knox, Kentucky. Vesser worked with the OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group) during April 1968. He was briefed by Dr. Gelb on the sensitivity of this study and its highly classified aspect. Vesser collaborated with Major Cooke and Lt Col Seigle on the "Advisory Build-up" volume of the study. His drafts, after rewrite and submission to Seigle, were destroyed by Vesser. He noted strict security control was exercised by Gelb over the "McNaughton Papers" and McNamara briefing books. Vesser gained the impression that the contract civilian task force members were "too interested" in material not connected with their assigned topics and had the unsubstantiated belief that they were removing some of this material. Vesser knows Ellsberg, having met him in Vietnam during 1966-67. In February 1970, during a conversation with Ellsberg, Vesser noted him to be "troubled." At that time, Ellsberg stated that the new administration would "get us out of the war" and "set new national priorities." Vesser has noted no publication to date in The New York Times of his portion of the study. Vesser has made no unauthorized disclosure of any material or information relating to the Gelb Study to anyone.

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DETAILS

1. On 20 August 1971, Special Agents Herbert S. Fowkes, Jr., and Paul T. Spalla interviewed Lt Colonel Dale Allen Vesser, [REDACTED] USA, Chief, Leadership Division, U. S. Army Armor School, Fort Knox, Kentucky, to develop detailed information and reconstruct the origin, composition, and activities of the OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group). Prior to his interview, Vesser was advised of his rights under Article 31, UCMJ, informed of the nature of the matter under investigation, and told he could have a lawyer present either retained or appointed. He indicated he understood his rights and waived his right to have a lawyer present. He stated substantially as follows:

During either December 1967 or January 1968, while he was assigned to the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Systems Analysis), he was contacted by Colonel Paul Gorman, U.S. Army, who told him of the Gelb Study Group and that because of his recent assignment in Vietnam, he could make a valuable contribution to the Study. Gorman said the Study was a history of the war in Vietnam and Dr. Leslie Gelb was Chairman of the Study Group. Vesser's assignment to the Gelb Study Group was delayed until April 1968 because his Chief, Dr. Victor K. Heyman, did not want to release him. It was finally agreed between Gelb and Heyman that Vesser would be assigned to the Study Group from 2-30 April 1968.

When he reported to the Study Group, Gorman briefed him on the sensitivity of the Study and its highly classified aspect, but he has no recollection of signing a Briefing Certificate. He did not recall anyone telling him of Secretary McNamara's guidelines regarding the scope of the Study nor did he recall Gelb stating the writings would be anonymous.

Vesser worked with the then Major Charles M. Cook, now a civilian, and Lt Colonel John W. Seigle. The three collaborated on what he identified as Volume IV, B(2) of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Report entitled "Advisory Build-up." He worked independently from all other groups, fulltime on this study. He recalled considerable pressure to produce his volume on time and it was finally prepared after a series of seminars with Cooke, Seigle and Gelb. He prepared three handwritten drafts which were typed and submitted to Seigle. They were subsequently typed into one finished draft, in an original and one copy. Each time a draft was retyped, the previous draft was destroyed. He gave an original and

one copy of the final draft to Seigle and assumed Seigle gave them to Gelb. His only recollection of his finished material was a remark Seigle made to him that his draft went into the final product unchanged. Vesser has no papers in his possession connected with this Study. All of his notes were given to Chief Petty Officer Fox for destruction.

He has no specific memory of what the various group members prepared by topic. However, he did recall that certain group members requested him to read their papers and asking for his opinion, since he had recently been assigned to Vietnam.

Someone (name not recalled) told him 5 copies of the Study were to be printed. He never saw any of the volumes in final form, nor did he know the number of volumes printed or their distribution. In April 1968, during a casual conversation, he asked Gorman concerning the amount of material prepared and where it was going. By reply, Gorman pointed out a bottom safe drawer in his office and said the work to date filled that drawer. No further comment was made.

In regard to reproduction of study source documents, Vesser requested xerox copies of certain documents that he needed for his writing. CPO Fox accomplished these xerox copies for him and maintained the files of the duplicated material after Vesser was through with it.

Vesser gained a general impression that the contract civilians who worked on this study were "too interested" in material not connected with their assigned topics, and he had the unsubstantiated belief these individuals were removing some of this type of material. He could furnish no specific details nor identities of the individuals involved.

Vesser had access to, and used some of the material in, the "McNaughton Papers" and the McNamara briefing books. Gelb maintained very strict security controls over this material and he always reviewed it in Gelb's office. He did not reproduce any documents from either of these two files of material.

Vesser knows Ellsberg, having first met him in 1966-1967 when Ellsberg was in Vietnam at the same time as Vesser. He had no recollection of Ellsberg being on the Study Group. He described Ellsberg as a "coordinator" rather than as an original contributor, meaning he did not believe Ellsberg prepared anything original, but rather "coordinated" on

other people's products. In February 1970, when Ellsberg worked for Mr. Morton Halperin, Vesser and Ellsberg met at a conference and had a very casual, short discussion. Vesser gained the impression at that time that Ellsberg was "troubled," but he could not define Ellsberg's problem. During this time, Ellsberg was working on a document entitled "State of the World Assessment," which was to answer critical questions, one of which was Vietnam. Ellsberg's attitude was that the new Administration was going to "get us out of the war" and "set new national priorities." Vesser did not believe Ellsberg said anything critical regarding the conduct of the Vietnam war during the discussion. He doubted Ellsberg knew that he (Vesser) was on the Study Group.

Vesser has never been contacted by anyone from the press or other media and does not know if any other members have been contacted. He has reviewed the articles in the New York Times and he has not seen anything he wrote in print. He has made no unauthorized disclosure of any material or information relating to the Gelb Study to anyone.

When Vesser was asked if he could identify administrative personnel on the Study Group, he identified Chief Petty Officer Fox as the Administrative Chief for Dr. Gelb and Marine Sgt Karla Von Huben and Barbara Zbierajewska, as the only two typists he could recall by name.

2. The individuals mentioned in this report are further identified as follows:

- a. Charles M. Cooke, former USAF Major now employed by Department of Health, Education and Welfare Department, Washington, D. C.
- b. Lt Colonel John W. Seigle, U. S. Army, presently assigned as Coordinator Army Studies, U. S. Army, Pentagon, Washington, D. C.
- c. Donald E. Fox, retired CPO, USN, now residing in [redacted]
- d. Daniel Ellsberg, now employed by M. I. T.
- e. Morton Halperin, employed at Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.
- f. Leslie H. Gelb, employed at Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Defense Department
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INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U.S. - Vietnam
Relations 1945 - 1967
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 30 AUG 1971
Period: 24 August 1971
Status: Pending
Prepared By: Paul T. Spalla

SUMMARY

Karla Gail Von Huben, former U. S. Marine Sergeant, served as a clerk-typist with the Gelb Study Group from approximately April to August 1968. She advised she typed drafts, took some dictation, and made Xerox reproductions. Shortly after her assignment, she began to receive final reports from CPQ Fox for Xerox reproduction, which she believed she accomplished in five copies, returning all copies and original reports to Fox. She did not recall titles, number of separate reports, or pages involved in this reproduction. She conceded that other group members could have had access to the Xerox copier, since it was in a separate room, adjacent to her work area. Von Huben never observed anyone taking material from the office, nor did she ever reproduce any source material or drafts for anyone. She believed the group members with whom she had contact to be extremely security conscious. She did not know Daniel Ellsberg, and was not aware he was a member of the study group.

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DETAILS

On 24 August 1971, Karla Gail Von Huben, formerly on active duty as a U.S. Marine Sergeant, was interviewed at the U. S. Marine Air Station, Quantico, Virginia, by Special Agents Herbert S. Fowkes, Jr., and Paul T. Spalla. She advised as follows:

She is now a member of the U.S. Marine Ready Reserve, residing at [redacted] and was assigned to the OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group) while on active duty, from approximately April to August 1968 as a clerk-typist. Lt Colonel John W. Seigle, U.S. Army supervised her work consisting of typing, dictation, and Xerox reproduction. She received no formal security briefing, but was advised by Seigle that everyone must "keep their mouths shut" due to the sensitivity of the study, which was being accomplished for Mr. McNamara, Secretary of Defense.

She noted that those with whom she worked, specifically Seigle, CPO Donald Fox, and Margaret Enright, were extremely security conscious. Further, the study group writers, certain of whom were located near her working area, appeared to conscientiously control and safeguard their notes and drafts by securing their material in the safes provided.

Normally, Von Huben received her typing work (handwritten drafts and retypes) from Seigle or Fox. It was not unusual, however, for her to receive individual typing jobs from various authors. She could not recall the content of any documents she received.

As part of her job, she received considerable material from Fox, and no one else, to Xerox. Shortly after her assignment, she began to receive final reports of the study from Fox for Xerox reproduction. She took these reports (one original copy, single-spaced, on bond) to the reproduction room located in the 1-E-ring in the Pentagon (room number unknown) where she utilized a Xerox-2400 copier with collator. She believed she could have reproduced these documents in five copies, although she is not certain. She returned all copies to Fox with the original reports. She did not recall the titles, number of volumes, or number of pages involved in this Xerox work, and would not recognize them even if displayed to her. She did not punch or spiral-bind any of the reproduced work and believed if they were, Fox must have done it. She recalled seeing one volume of the study in a blue binder with spiral fastening but she did not note the title. She conceded that others in the study group could have used the Xerox copier, since it was in a separate room adjacent to her work area.

She left the group on an unrecalled date in August 1968 and returned to OSD International Security Affairs (OASD/ISA) where she had been assigned previously as a typist for Kenneth E. Roberts, Foreign Affairs Officer. Her enlistment expired 11 October 1968, at which time she returned to civilian status.

Von Huben never observed anyone taking material from the office and did not recall making Xerox copies of source material or drafts for anyone. She did not know Daniel Ellsberg, nor was she aware he was a member of the study group. Upon being shown a list of all known individuals assigned to the group, she recalled and made comments as indicated below, on the following:

Dr. Leslie Gelb - Von Huben took dictation from him once or twice; he told her he was going to write a book, title unknown to her.

Margaret Enright - Head stenographer for Dr. Gelb.

Donald Fox - Chief of Administration for the Gelb Study.

Colonel Robert Gard - Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense.

Colonel Paul F. Gorman - Von Huben recalled he went to Paris in the middle of the study.

Morton H. Halperin - Worked for ISA.

Delores Nagy - Secretary-typist.

Kenneth E. Roberts - Von Huben's supervisor at ISA. She did not know he was on the group.

Lt Colonel Herbert Schandler - White House Aide.

Lt Colonel John M. Seigle - Dr. Gelb's Assistant.

Barbara K. Zbierajewska - WAF Sergeant, typist.

Von Huben was unaware of the current location of any of the above individuals..

She has made no unauthorized disclosure to anyone concerning the group's activities or the information available to it, nor has she been asked to do so. Further, Von Huben has had no contact with any of her former associates since leaving the group.

Defense Department
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INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U.S. - Vietnam
Relations 1945-1967,
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 30 AUG 1971
Period: 18 August 1971
Status: Pending
Prepared By: William L. Richards

SUMMARY

Dana G. Mead, Lt Colonel, U.S.A., Staff Assistant to The President, was interviewed on 18 August 1971 after being advised of his rights and waiving his right to have a lawyer present.

While an instructor at the U.S. Military Academy, Mead was assigned TDY to the OSD Vietnam Task Force from approximately 20 June to 21 August 1968, as a research writer on the Group Forces Build-Up in Vietnam for the period late 1966 through early 1968. One-third of Mead's input was in finished draft form, with the remainder either dictated on dictaphone belts or in rough drafts prior to his departure in August 1968. Mead has never seen the final version of his work. He did have access to approximately fifteen to twenty blue-covered volumes of the study for research purposes. To the best of his knowledge he has never met Daniel Ellsberg. He has made no unauthorized disclosure of any material or information relating to the study to anyone.

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DETAILS

Dana George Mead, Lt Colonel, U. S. Army, [redacted] Staff Assistant to The President of the United States (Domestic Affairs) and former member of the OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group), was interviewed on 18 August 1971 by Special Agents William L. Richards and John H. Kramb after being advised of his rights under Article 31, Uniform Code of Military Justice and informed of the matter under investigation. He indicated he understood his rights and waived his right to have a lawyer present. Colonel Mead advised:

He was assigned TDY to the Task Force approximately 20 June through 21 August 1968 during the summer vacation from his assignment as an instructor in the Social Science Department at the United States Military Academy. Mead was selected by Lt Colonel John W. Seigle. Mead had no previous experience with the Task Force subject matter, and his selection was based on his qualifications as a research writer. Assignments were verbally given Mead by Dr. Leslie H. Gelb and Seigle to research and write the decision phases of the ground forces build-up for the period beginning late 1966 through early 1968. He could not recall whether formal security briefing and debriefing certificates were executed. Initially, Gelb instructed him concerning normal cautions regarding the handling of classified material. No one, to his knowledge, received a censure for security violations.

Mead worked with James F. Edgar, Lt Colonel, U. S. Army, a fellow instructor at West Point, also assigned TDY during the summer of 1968. Edgar covered the ground forces build-up for the period from 1965 to late 1966. Mead has never seen final versions of his input. From review of the Task Force report index, Mead believes Volume IV. C. 6.(a), titled U. S. Ground Strategy and Force Deployments: 1965-1967, Volume IV. C. 6.(b), titled Ground Forces, Vol II: Program 5, and Volume IV. C. 6.(c), Ground Forces, Vol III: Program 6 would incorporate the work accomplished by himself and Edgar.

Mead did have access to blue-covered volumes of the study already completed which he used as reference material. He estimated these included fifteen to twenty volumes but could not recall the exact type of binding. Mead did recall that only one copy of the completed volumes was available to the Task Force. All requests for documents not already available in the Task Force files were submitted to the secretary, Delores Nagy, who obtained the documents and controlled them under a file card system. He believes his work was among the last accomplished by the Task Force. No interviews were conducted by Mead.

All inputs were submitted to Gelb in draft, double- or triple-spaced form with annotations, if necessary. Drafts were prepared by Mead in one copy only. Handwritten draft material no longer needed was given to Nagy for placement in the burn bag. Early drafts were reviewed by Gelb and retyped and resubmitted to Gelb. During the last two weeks, Mead dictated drafts on dictaphone belts which, together with still unprocessed rough drafts, were left for finalization when he departed in August 1968. He estimated one-third of his work was in finished draft form. No Task Force work papers or documents were retained by Mead. All completed drafts were classified Top Secret and were filed in accordion-type folders in the files of the Task Force. Mead has no further knowledge of the disposition of his input or the distribution of the completed Task Force report.

Mead prepared an analysis after each section of his assignment was completed. He consulted with Edgar, Gelb, and Seigle concerning his analysis inputs. Occasionally he had less substantive discussions on ground warfare with Willard H. Mitchell, another Task Force member. The only other writer assigned to the Task Force at this time was Ernest R. May who worked for a short period on the bombing phase of the study. To the best of his knowledge, he has never met Daniel Ellsberg. He has received no inquiries from representatives of the press, nor has he had any discussions, other than mentioned above, with anyone concerning the content of the Task Force project. He has made no unauthorized disclosure of any material or information relating to the study to anyone.

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INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U.S.-Vietnam
Relations 1945-1967,
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 30 AUG 1971
Period: 23 August 1971
Status: Pending
Prepared By: William L. Richards

SUMMARY

Mrs. Erminia F. Tucker was interviewed on 23 August 1971 concerning her knowledge and observations of the OSD Vietnam Task Force members who jointly occupied office space with her. She identified Leslie Gelb, Daniel Ellsberg, Richard Moorsteen, and Dr. W. Kaufman as members who occupied these offices at one time or another. Her desk was in the reception area with Task Force administrative personnel Kay Kellogg, Margaret S. Enright, Delores Nagy and Ann Wassil. Mrs. Tucker worked separately from the Task Force with no interaction. There was no reproduction equipment in the office. She observed no security laxness by Task Force personnel and she was not aware of any contacts by these individuals with news media.

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DETAILS

Mrs. Erminia (Erma) F. Tucker, personal secretary and confidential assistant to Mr. William J. Barroody, Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, was interviewed by Special Agents William L. Richards and John H. Kramb on 23 August 1971 concerning her knowledge and observations of the OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group) members who jointly occupied office space with her. Mrs. Tucker advised essentially as follows:

Some members of the Task Force occupied offices in the same suite of rooms with Mrs. Tucker until November 1968 when she was temporarily reassigned on a loan basis while her supervisor, Mr. John Maddux, was on leave. When she returned to her office in February 1969 the Task Force was no longer there. She recalled Leslie Gelb, Daniel Ellsberg, Richard Moorsteen, and a Dr. Kaufman (Dr. William W. Kaufman, Professor, MIT) as members who at one time or another had utilized these offices. Dr. Kaufman's tenure with the group was short. Her desk was in the reception area with some of the administrative support personnel of the Task Force whom she identified as Kay Kellogg, Margaret S. Enright, Delores Nagy, and Ann Wassil.

Mrs. Tucker worked separately from the Task Force; in fact, there was no interaction between her and the Task Force, and if she had to leave the office, she cleared her desk and locked her safe. No reproduction was done in the office because there was no equipment to perform such a task. She was not aware of any security laxity on the part of Task Force personnel. She had no responsibility for visitor control for the Task Force, but recalled there was a constant flow of people in and out and she did not know who were staff members at a given time. She described the area at times as being "like Grand Central Station."

Her work for Mr. Maddux, who wrote speeches for Mr. Robert S. McNamara and Mr. Clark Clifford, entailed contacts with news media. Since the total office space was limited with no place for visitors to wait, she always made appointments and escorted visitors directly to Mr. Maddux's office. To her knowledge, there were no news media contacts with the Task Force.

Mrs. Tucker had never handled any work for the Task Force, nor has she seen any of it. To the best of her knowledge there was no mail delivery or pickup for the Task Force working in her area.

The individuals mentioned in this report are further identified, as follows:

John L. Maddux, World Bank, Washington, D. C.

Leslie Gelb, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Daniel Ellsberg, 10 Hilliard Street, Cambridge, Mass.

Richard Mooresteen, Consultant, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, Calif.

William W. Kaufman, Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.

Kathryn R. Kellogg (Mrs. David A. Burchinal), [REDACTED]

Margaret S. Enright, Secretary, SAFIL, Room 4D-870, The Pentagon.

Delores Nagy, State Department, Washington, D. C.

Anne R. Wassil, Secretary, SAFL, Room 5D934, The Pentagon.

Robert S. McNamara (Former Secretary of Defense), President, World Bank, Washington, D. C.

Clark Clifford (Former Secretary of Defense), Attorney, 815 Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Defense Department
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INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U. S-Vietnam
Relations 1945-1967.
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 5 OCT 1971
Period: 21 September 1971
Status: Pending
Prepared By: Dallas G. Weddle

SUMMARY

Donald E. Fox, Chief Petty Officer, USN (Ret.), was reinterviewed in an attempt to verify administrative information furnished by other members of the OSD Vietnam Task Force. He advised that incoming classified material obtained on hand receipts was assigned a chronological control number on a master list. Draft papers, residual notes, etc., ready for destruction, were placed in burn bags which, in turn, were stapled, classified, and carried to the Classified Control Section, OSD, for destruction. Destruction certificates were not required since no source documents were ever destroyed. Fox reproduced the 38-volume set of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study in five copies, bound all copies with plastic comb binders, and handed the five copies with original pages in a folder to Dr. Gelb who controlled the distribution. Fox did not participate in the printing of the 47-volume set of the Task Force Study which occurred after he furnished an unrecalled number of bound copies of the 38-volume set to Commander Dean, at the instruction of Dr. Gelb. Fox confirmed that reproduced copies of certain volumes were forwarded to Colonel Gorman in Paris at the direction of Dr. Gelb. Fox delivered Task Force material and a 38-volume set of the Task Force report to the Rand Corporation, Washington, D. C., also under instructions of Dr. Gelb. Fox assisted both Gelb and Halperin in removing material when they departed the Pentagon by carrying boxes, contents of which were unknown to him, to their personal automobiles at the River Entrance.

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DETAILS

On 21 September 1971, Donald E. Fox, Chief Petty Officer, USN (Ret.), was reinterviewed by Special Agents William L. Richards and Dallas G. Weddle. Fox was interviewed in an attempt to verify information as reported by other personnel assigned to the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study Group (Gelb Study Group). Fox stated essentially as follows:

In recounting administrative practices in the Study Group work area, he was responsible for obtaining source documents required, when directed by Colonel Gorman or Dr. Gelb. As an example, he obtained classified material from the State Department and he obtained cable books from the OSD Cable Room, for which he was required to sign a hand receipt before they could be moved to the Study Group work area. Since incoming material was classified, he devised a simplified control system of assigning each incoming document a number. A master list was maintained which identified the document, from where obtained, and security classification. Material generated by the Study Group was classified by the author (action officer), usually in longhand; but it was not until the draft had been approved by Dr. Gelb and the page typed in final format that the security classification was typed on each page. In addition to this typed classification, Fox also stamped each page with a block stamp in approximately one-half inch red letters, with the security classification of Top Secret, Secret, or Confidential, as appropriate. When these original pages were reproduced the red ink did not transfer, but the stamp appeared on the reproduced pages as black.

The work flow of the Study Group was as follows: The author (action officer) would submit a draft, usually handwritten, to Colonel Gorman for review. After Gorman's review, it was submitted to Dr. Gelb. The corrected draft was then returned to the author for final typing and then directly to Dr. Gelb. Draft papers, residual notes, etc., ready for destruction were placed in various burn bags located throughout the office. When full, Fox stapled the bags closed, wrote the classification (usually Top Secret) on the outside, and carried them to the Classified Control Section in OSD for subsequent destruction. Destruction certificates were not required since no source documents under security control were ever destroyed. Documents under security control were returned to the source when no longer needed by the Task Force.

A review of the OSD report of investigation dated 23 August 1971 indicates TSgt Nicholas P. E. Felicione, FR b7C USAF had advised when "reviewing material for reproduction, he would discover either pages missing or what appeared to be incomplete pages. In this event, he would contact one or two individuals (whose names he does not recall) assigned in the ISA with the Task Force. One of the individuals he described as an old Navy Chief...." (presumably

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Fox, since Fox was the only Navy Chief assigned with the Task Force). Fox was emphatic that he had absolutely nothing to do with the final printing of the 47-volume set handled by Felicione; and further, he does not recall ever meeting Felicione or dealing with any enlisted man concerning the additional reproduction of volumes of the Study.

Fox recalled that he handled the reproduction work of the 38-volume set. When a volume was completed he was handed a folder containing the final typed draft by Dr. Gelb and instructed to reproduce five copies, which he did, using various reproduction machines on the third floor of the Pentagon. After assembling the five reproduced copies, he handcarried them to the Joint Chiefs of Staff area and, using a special-type machine, he bound each volume with a plastic comb binder. On the cover page of each volume he stamped "Copy of Copies" and numbered the five sets in sequence; i.e., "1 of 5," "2 of 5," etc. He then placed the folder containing the original draft on top of the five bound copies and returned them to Dr. Gelb. He was positive in his assertions the original draft was not bound, but returned loose in the folder to Dr. Gelb. Copies #1 and #2 were delivered by Dr. Gelb to the Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (General Pursley). To Fox's knowledge, Dr. Gelb made this distribution with one exception, when Gelb instructed Fox to deliver four bound volumes to General Pursley. Fox also was aware Dr. Gelb kept one set of the bound volumes in his safe. He had no idea what happened to the original draft or the other bound sets, but was certain he did not place any in three-ring notebooks, acknowledging there were three-ring notebooks (contents unknown) in the bottom drawer of Dr. Gelb's safe. Dr. Gelb had given strict instructions that only his secretary, Delores Nagy, could have access to his safe.

When the Study Group was disbanded he assisted in moving two safes from the Study Group area in ISA. One safe contained unknown material belonging to Dr. Gelb and was placed in an inner hall outside Gelb's private office in ISA along with two safes already located in Gelb's ISA office. The other safe moved to ISA was utilized by Fox in his work area adjacent to Dr. Gelb's office. Fox was under the direct supervision of Captain Carnahan, USN (NFI), subsequent to his move to ISA, but was frequently utilized by Dr. Gelb to conduct administrative type functions. He described these additional duties as, in one instance, he replaced about ten pages in a bound volume that had been rewritten for some unknown reason. In several instances, he reproduced material for Gelb but was unable to recall if the material pertained to the Study or was unrelated ISA material. He did recall reproducing material from the Study for Gelb, but could not remember if he bound and numbered this copy or not; nor could he recall how many volumes he reproduced. Additionally, on another occasion he made ten or twelve copies of some material for Gelb which completely covered a large table in Gelb's private office. He could not remember if this material pertained to the Study.

Concerning his alleged participation in packing boxes for Dr. Gelb and Dr. Halperin, which included classified OSD material, Fox could not specifically recall packing any boxes that were removed from the Pentagon. However, he was definite he did carry boxes out of the Pentagon when Dr. Gelb left, in approximately April 1969. He could not recall the number of boxes, but stated it would have been three or fewer as he recalled he did not use a cart to transport the boxes. He remembered he took the boxes to the River Entrance, and believes he placed them in Dr. Gelb's private automobile. He recalls being "put out" over this task because he did not feel a Chief Petty Officer should be treated as a "servant." He denied any knowledge as to the contents of these boxes, or their ultimate destination. He was positive in his assertion that he never delivered any material for Dr. Gelb to Brookings Institution.

On another occasion he carried three sealed boxes out to the River Entrance for Dr. Halperin when he departed the Pentagon approximately January 1969. Fox was emphatic he did not pack or deliver the boxes, and had no idea of the contents. He was shown the three receipts which he was alleged to have had typed covering three books reproduced and delivered to the Executive Office Building (EOB) (reference report dated 10 September 1971 concerning interview of Dorothy Maffett), and he could not recall ever seeing or preparing the receipts. He had no idea as to the location or identity of James W. Cook whose signature appears on the receipts as having received the three books. Fox was positive he had never delivered anything to anyone at the EOB.

Concerning the classified books received from the OSD Cable Room, Fox was instructed by Dr. Gelb to obtain cable books, specified by date, and keep them in the Study Group area for reference material. Fox was required to sign appropriate hand receipts, and the material was maintained in two drawers of a safe in his work area. Fox recalled he reproduced material from these books for various Study Group members; and frequently this reproduced material would be stapled to a section of a draft, as this method afforded the author the opportunity to avoid loss of valuable time in copying direct from the material in the cable books. Regarding his alleged statement he "did not want to be involved" when questioned by the OSD Cable Branch personnel concerning whether the cable book material had been reproduced (reference report dated 13 August 1971 regarding interview of Mr. Francis Wall, Operations Officer, Cable Branch, OSD), Fox could only remember some discussion about the contents of the cable books with an unidentified sergeant, and believes he said something like he "didn't want to even look at them." Further, he believes that the Cable Branch personnel should have been aware some cables were reproduced because on occasion he used the reproduction machine in the Cable Room.

A review of the report dated 21 September 1971 reveals Delores E. Nagy, former secretary to Dr. Gelb, reported prior to her departure from the Pentagon in January 1969 she became aware that approximately four volumes had become interchanged between sets; i.e., a volume of "Copy 1 of 5 Copies" was noted in the "Copy 4 of 5 Copies" set. She gave Fox a note outlining these discrepancies, and on a subsequent return visit she asked if the corrections had been made. Fox reportedly informed her all the Task Force documents had been taken to Commander Dean for printing of 20 additional copies. He advised he could have told Nagy that additional copies were being prepared, but he could not recall mentioning a specific number of copies. Fox recalled a discussion with Nagy about the interchanging of volumes between the sets; however, he believes he checked the sets without finding discrepancies. Fox also recalled a discussion with Nagy concerning a black notebook she left with him when she was preparing to transfer from the Pentagon. This book, consisting of about 20-25 pages, to the best of his knowledge was still in the bottom drawer of the safe when Fox retired.

Fox could not recall how many copies of the Task Force Study were turned over to Commander Dean. He did remember he was instructed by Dr. Gelb to release the material to Dean which he did with the help of another person, possibly Mr. Roberts' secretary, a Private Dohm (NFI), USA. Fox stated the material included copies of the bound Study, but he could not recall if he transferred the folders containing the originals of the Task Force Study. He advised it required several trips to transport the material from the Study Group area to Dean's office, and that no receipts were used in transferring responsibility for the material.

Fox was shown a copy of the 16 January 1969 memorandum from Dr. Gelb to Colonel Pursley or Colonel Gard, which stated in substance Secretary McNamara wanted a "full set" of the Task Force Papers delivered to one of two specific individuals at the U. S. Archives between 3:00 and 4:00 on 17 January 1969. Fox professed no knowledge of this transfer, and had no idea how the material was prepared for delivery nor who might have taken the material to the Archives.

Fox was shown the two memo notes dated 8 and 9 May, respectively, addressed to him from Gelb, regarding reproduction of volumes of the Study to be sent to Gorman in Paris. Fox recognized Gelb's initial ("G") on the notes, but the contents of the notes did not have any effect on his memory. In particular, the part of the note which refers to the deletion of the DOD markings, he could not recall what action -- if any -- he took regarding deletion. Copies of these notes are attached to this report of investigation. He could only recall the one occasion when copies of certain volumes of the Task Force

Study were forwarded to Colonel Gorman in Paris (reference ROI dated 2 September 1971 concerning the interview of Lt Colonel Schandler). Fox stated he reproduced selected volumes at the direction of Dr. Gelb. These reproductions were made from volumes previously bound with plastic comb bindings without removing the binding. This reproduced material was double-wrapped in manila envelopes by Fox without any indication of a security classification on the outside of the inner or outer envelopes. The outer envelope contained an address label reflecting Colonel Gorman's name and assignment in Paris. Fox handcarried the package to the JCS area where (he understands) it was hand-carried by an unknown Navy Captain to Paris. Fox could not recall if he prepared more than one package for delivery to Colonel Gorman, nor could he recall how many papers/volumes were reproduced for Colonel Gorman.

Fox was requested to recount the facts and circumstances surrounding the material delivered to the Rand Corporation, Washington, D.C. (receipt attached to the report of Fox interview dated 2 September 1971). He recalled being called into Colonel Gorman's office by Dr. Gelb and told to deliver the material already stacked on a table to Rand. He surmised the material represented a complete set of the Study, and was surprised that Rand was to receive a set because of the high security classification and the way the project had been held so closely within the Study Group. Fox stated he prepared an inventory on his own initiative and placed the Study material in five boxes. He could not explain how Study VI. C. 3: Settlement of the Conflict (C) Histories of Contacts (Sunflower) marked Copy 1 of 4 Copies could have been so marked when all other studies were marked Copy 1 of 5 Copies, unless this was a typographical error on the inventory list. (Note: The cover of Volume VI. C. 3. is marked Copy 1 of 4 Copies, indicating an error in marking inasmuch as no information has been developed to indicate any volumes should have been marked Copy 1 of 4 Copies.) After he had the material boxed, it was transported to Rand Corporation in a government automobile ordered by Dr. Gelb. Fox could not recall the name of the individual he was to contact at Rand, but he does recall that Rand people were waiting for him when he arrived and assisted in loading the boxes onto a cart. Fox accompanied the material "upstairs" and subsequently was handed a signed receipt. Fox could not recall if he was present when A. E. Archer signed the receipt, nor could he recall why Archer did not sign the pre-prepared receipt at the bottom of the last page of the inventory. The boxes were not opened and inventoried against the receipt by any Rand personnel during the time Fox was at Rand. He left a copy of the receipt with the material and returned the original inventory list and Archer's receipt to Dr. Gelb.

Agents' Note

It will become readily apparent to the reader that minor variations exist between the information furnished by Shirley Wickham, Delores Nagy, Dorothy Maffett, and Lt Colonel

Schandler when compared with the information obtained from Fox. In each instance where a variation existed, Fox was advised and appeared to make a conscientious effort to recall the circumstances as described by others; however, he was unable to do so in some instances due to his limited ability to recall. Further probing into these minor variations would undoubtedly result in Fox "parrotting" the information reported by others because he would feel this was desired; however, it would not have been a true recitation of facts as he remembered them. Fox was most cooperative and volunteered to be reinterviewed at any time on any matter which he might possess information germane to this investigation.

Individuals mentioned in this report are further identified as follows:

Captain Ralph H. Carnahan, USN (The only Captain listed by that name in the 1970 US Navy Registry of Officers, File Nr. 485001)

Dr. Leslie H. Gelb, Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

Colonel Paul F. Gorman, USA, Fort Benning, Georgia

Brigadier General Robert E. Pursley, USAF, OSD, Room 3E-880,
The Pentagon

William J. Dean (former Commander, USN), 5463 Mead Court,
Columbia, South Carolina

A. E. Archer, The Rand Corporation, Washington, D. C.

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INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U. S. - Vietnam
Relations 1945-1967,
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 30 AUG 1971
Period: 24 August 1971
Status: Pending
Prepared By: Ralph M. Harris

SUMMARY

Mrs. Vera S. Nutt, GS-6, Secretary to Mr. William J. Baroody, Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, recalled being assigned as secretary to the OSD Vietnam Task Force on part-time basis for an unknown period of time. Nutt took some dictation from Col. Paul Gorman, and the remainder of her work consisted of typing drafts or final single spaced copy. She did not recall ever reproducing any material or seeing any bound completed copies of the Study. During her employment, Mrs. Anne R. Wassil was the principal secretary and all questions concerning typing or format were referred to Mrs. Wassil. Reproduction or other administrative matters were handled by Chief Donald E. Fox, USN. Nutt has never discussed the Study Group or its work with anyone, and has never been asked any questions concerning the Study.

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J. FRED BUZHARDT 1529

DETAILS

On 24 August 1971, Mrs. Vera S. Nutt, GS-6, Secretary to Mr. William J. Baroody, Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, the Pentagon, Washington, D. C. was interviewed by Special Agents Ralph M. Harris and Robert L. Jones. Mrs. Nutt's name appeared on an April 1968 list of personnel assigned to the OSD Vietnam Task Force. Mrs. Nutt advised essentially as follows:

She was assigned to work for the OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group) approximately three days per week as a secretary on a part-time basis. She was unable to recall when she was first employed or when she departed the Study Group. During this part-time employment she worked generally for Colonel Paul Gorman and he was still with the Study Group when she left for other employment. She also remembered that Lt Colonel John W. Seigle was initially assigned to the Group. Note: Lt Colonel Seigle was assigned to the Task Force in April 1968, and Colonel Gorman departed for Paris, France in approximately May 1968.

Mrs. Nutt took some dictation from Colonel Gorman, typed several drafts, and placed some drafts in final single space copy. She was unable to recall any specifics although she knew the articles concerned Vietnam. Chief Donald E. Fox, USN, was responsible for all reproduction and other administration, and Nutt does not recall ever helping assemble any documents, reproducing any material or ever seeing any completed bound copies of the Study. A Mrs. Anne R. Wassil appeared to be the principal secretary and all inquiries regarding typing or format were referred normally to her.

She was unable to recall any names of other assigned personnel, but did remember several unidentified consultants coming and going and for whom she would occasionally type some material.

Nutt has never discussed the Study Group or its work with anyone, not even her husband, and has never been asked any questions about the Study by anyone.

The individuals mentioned in this report are further identified as follows:

Paul F. Gorman, Colonel, U. S. A., Fort Benning, Georgia.

John W. Seigle, Lt Colonel, U. S. A., Coordinator of Army Studies,
U. S. Army, The Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

Donald E. Fox, CPO, USN (Retired), [REDACTED]

Anne R. Wassil, Secretary, SAFLL, The Pentagon, Washington, D. C.

Defense Department
Office of the General Counsel
INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U.S. - Vietnam
Relations 1945-1967,
Beginning 13 June 1971.

Date: 23 AUG 1971

Period: 3, 11 August 1971

Status: Pending

Prepared By: Vincent A. Petruskie

SUMMARY TSgt Felicione, USAF, explained his version of the administrative handling of the reproduction of the OSD Vietnam Task Force Study as follows: In approximately November 1968, while assigned as Administrative NCO in Office of the Special Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense, he was informed by Lt Commander Dean, his immediate supervisor, of a "rush" requirement for obtaining 15 Xerox copies of a Vietnam Task Force Study. Dean made all necessary arrangements for printing with Mr. Williams, Defense Printing Plant. The volumes of the study to be reproduced were obtained directly from General Hixon, then Military Assistant to Secretary of Defense. In most instances, these particular volumes were typewritten originals bound in plastic spiral bindings with blue covers. However, some volumes consisted of loose papers in manila folders and, in at least one instance, the material was contained in a three-ring black binder. In the interest of security, only two or three volumes at a time would be handcarried by Felicione or Dean to the Defense Printing Plant. In each instance, after the reproduction process was completed, printing personnel placed the Xerox copies, bound in screw and post bindings, complete with cover, in a sealed box, together with the typewritten originals, and delivered it the same day to Felicione or Dean who would acknowledge receipt in writing. The "ribbon copies" would then be returned to General Hixon's safe and the reproductions placed in the vault of the Secretary of Defense. Lt Commander Dean advised his recollection of all pertinent circumstances relating to his participation in the reproduction of the OSD Vietnam Study was not clear, since during the same relative time frame, i.e., December 1968-March 1969, he had handled the reproduction of a DoD History of the Johnson Administration which contained, as an input, material originating from the Vietnam Study Group. His recollection of the details regarding printing arrangements and the procedure followed in obtaining the volumes from Hixon's office, handcarrying them to the Printing Plant, receipting for the completed work, and returning the completed bound volumes and the originals to Hixon's office, agrees substantially with the information furnished by Felicione. Dean's version of the time required to complete the final printing is at variance with Felicione's in that Dean believes the printing continued in a "piecemeal" fashion until April-May 1969.

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DETAILS

1. On 3 August 1971, Special Agents William C. Malone and Vincent A. Petruskie interviewed Technical Sergeant Nicholas P. E. Felicione, FR [REDACTED] USAF, presently assigned to the White House Communications Agency, Washington, D. C. The interview was conducted to obtain details concerning Felicione's reported administrative handling of the reproduction of the final 47-volume OSD Vietnam Task Force Study. Felicione advised essentially as follows:

He was previously assigned to the Office of the Secretary of Defense from October 1966 to November 1970. From October 1966 to March 1968 he was assigned to the Cable Branch (OASD(Admin)) as a cable analyst. In March 1968 he was assigned to the Office of the Special Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense as an administrative NCO. He explained that his primary duty as an administrative NCO was to process personnel for possible assignment to White House or Presidential support duties. However, he was frequently called upon to administratively handle the reproduction and printing of various DoD studies and documents. During the period of his assignment to the Office of the Special Assistant to the Secretary, he had no personal contact with the members of the Gelb Group, nor did he have any knowledge of the inner-makings of the Group.

In approximately November (sometime shortly after the Presidential election) his immediate supervisor, Lt Commander William Dean, briefed him to the effect that he and Dean had been assigned a sensitive project involving the reproduction of a Vietnam Task Force Report. Dean explained that General Hixon had established a "rush" requirement for the reproduction of 15 copies of the entire report. Felicione does not recall whether Dean apprised him of the reasons for the immediate nature of the requirement. However, he believes someone told him the forthcoming change in administration and the necessity for furnishing copies of the study to the Johnson and Kennedy libraries had a direct bearing on the requirement.

Shortly after this initial briefing, Commander Dean made contact with the Defense Printing Plant and made arrangements for the reproduction of the study. Dean negotiated these arrangements with a Mr. Williams who, according to Felicione, is in charge of the "back room" of the Defense Printing Plant. Because of the sensitivity of the project, the actual Xeroxing was to be accomplished by two civilian employees of the Printing Plant named Calvin and Palmer. Furthermore, only two or three volumes at a time were to be handcarried by Felicione directly to the Printing Plant, located in the basement of the Pentagon. This procedure was adhered to explicitly.

When Printing Plant personnel completed copying the material they would bind the volumes in screw and post bindings complete with cover, place the reproduced volumes together with the originals in a sealed box and at that time would call either Dean or Felicione and advise them the work had been completed. At this point, Felicione would go to the Defense

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Printing Liaison Office, Room 3A-1037, Pentagon, where he would sign a Defense Printing Service Delivery receipt for the sealed box. He would then take the box back to Dean's office where it would be inventoried to assure it contained 15 copies and the original of each volume reproduced. The original copies would be returned to General Hixon's safe and the reproduced copies would be placed in the Secretary of Defense vault (Sec Def vault). The master or original copies were obtained from the bottom drawer of General Hixon's safe and as these volumes were reproduced the related masters or originals would be placed in the second drawer from the bottom of General Hixon's safe.

Fellicione made written listings of the volumes and the material he handcarried to the Printing Office but no official receiving system was utilized either when he obtained the volumes from General Hixon or when he furnished them to the Printing Plant.

In clarifying his use of the term "originals," Fellicione said to the best of his recollection most of the volumes to be reproduced were bound in plastic spiral bindings and were "ribbon copies" (typewritten originals). There were some volumes (he was unable to recall how many) consisting of loose papers contained in manila folders and in at least one instance the volume was contained in a three-ring black binder.

In reviewing the material for reproduction, he would discover either pages missing or what appeared to be incompletely pages. In this event, he would contact one or two individuals (whose names he does not recall) assigned in ISA with the Task Force. One of the individuals he described as an old Navy Chief who was assigned as administrative support to the Task Force. The other, a civilian, had personal knowledge of the documents and their contents. He dealt with the Chief primarily on matters of format and assemblage. In cases where something was missing or was incomplete, he contacted the civilian who was able in most instances to provide Fellicione with Xerox or ribbon copies of the missing pages of material.

Fellicione explained there were some volumes of the report which were not voluminous and, in order to expedite the project, he reproduced these volumes in 15 copies on the Xerox machine in his office using bond paper. After he completed this reproduction, he would bind and cover these volumes himself in screw and post binding. He could not recall the precise number of volumes he reproduced in this fashion, however, he thought there were at least two or three.

In attempting to recall the total number of volumes reproduced, Fellicione was unable to furnish a precise number. He would only state the number was well in excess of 40. With the exception of the copies reproduced and bound personally by him, the Defense Printing Plant accomplished the printing, binding, and the covering of all other volumes. The binding with the exception of two volumes was a screw and post method. He recalls that the plates for the cover had been furnished the Printing Plant by Dean at the time he made the initial arrangements.

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He noted that on several occasions, while inventorying the work returned from the Printing Plant, the Plant had mistakenly reproduced additional copies of the volumes. These duplicates were set aside and upon completion of the reproduction of the entire 40-plus volume set, were committed together with his notes and listings of material submitted to the Printing Plant to the DoD destruction facility by Felicione. He believes a destruction certificate is on file in the OSD administration section.

Felicione advised to the best of his recollection the entire reproduction task was completed by the end of January 1969 at which time he and General Hixon personally assembled 15 copies of the 40 (some odd) volumes, placed each set in boxes and in turn placed the boxed sets in the Sec Def vault. At the time the volumes were packed he recalls one additional volume was discovered. This volume was placed in General Hixon's safe since it was considered quite possible that one of the ultimate recipients did not receive this volume, and would eventually notify the office of the Secretary of Defense. He was not administratively involved with the distribution of the completed boxed sets. Thus, he was unable to furnish any information regarding their ultimate disposition.

On 4 August 1971, Special Agents Malone and Petruskie, together with TSgt Felicione, reviewed the contents of each volume of the 47-volume OSD Vietnam Task Force Study located in the office of the Assistant Secretary, Public Affairs (OSD/PA) and the following observations were made: All were bound with screw and post binding with the exception of Volumes 29 and 47. Volume 29, consisting of a series of charts and graphs, was stapled. Volume 47, consisting of the two-page Index, was bound with an Acco fastener. All volumes with the exception of Volume 29 were 8' x 10- $\frac{1}{2}$ " in size, and all bore identical blue covers. Volume 29 was oversized; i.e., 9" x 13" due to the nature of the contents.

Felicione was able to identify 34 volumes as being copies of those he had prepared for reproduction. He said it was quite probable he had handled the remaining 12 volumes, however he could not be positive since, unlike the 34 he could identify, these 12 contained no markings he could recognize as having been made by either him or Lt Commander Dean. He was certain he had never seen Volume 47 (index), since because of its small size, he would normally recall having seen it. He was able to make positive identification in several ways: some of the pages of the originals had been numbered with Felicione's executive typewriter; in other instances either he or Lt Commander Dean had traced over illegible letters appearing on the Xerox masters in order to afford a better reproduction. In some cases, when the "original" did not bear page numbers, Felicione initially numbered the pages in the upper left-hand corner, and in some cases these numbers appear under the binding of the copies. During his review of the volumes, Felicione was unable to identify any of the OSD/PA copies as being the volumes he had personally reproduced on his office's Xerox machine. He felt that if the volumes had been there, he would have recognized them, since they had been reproduced on watermarked bond paper.

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2 - On 11 August 1971, William J. Dean, [REDACTED] (currently enrolled as a law student at the University of South Carolina), was interviewed by Special Agents William C. Malone and Vincent A. Petruskie. Dean furnished the following information: In September 1966, he was assigned as Tour Coordinator in the Foreign Military Training Section of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations. In May 1967 he was assigned to the position of Military Assistant to John M. Steadman, Special Assistant to the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of Defense. He terminated his assignment at the Pentagon on 4 August 1969 when he resigned from the Regular Navy and accepted a commission in the U. S. Naval Reserve.

While assigned to Mr. Steadman's office, one of his primary duties was directing administrative support for the Special Task Force of the Presidential Advisory Committee on the Supersonic Transport. Additionally, he maintained Secretarial files pertaining to the TFX (F-111). To the best of his recollection, his first unofficial contact with the OSD Vietnam Task Force was sometime in late 1967 or early 1968 when the group was utilizing an office formerly assigned to the Special Assistant, to wit: 869-A, Pentagon. His association with members of the OSD Vietnam Task Force was most casual and was brought about strictly because of the physical proximity of their offices. He is unable to recall any of the personnel associated with the group, and is vaguely aware that it was headed by a Dr. Gelb whom he is unable to specifically recall. In attempting to describe his administrative duties in relation to the Vietnam Task Force Study, he recalls that in late 1968 or early 1969 he was occupied in compiling a history of the Johnson Administration. He explained this history was made up of a multitude of inputs provided by the various Services and he seems to recall one of the inputs as being directly related to the Vietnam Task Force Study. To the best of his recollection, this input concerned itself with the air war over North Vietnam. He recalls the Johnson History was a rush project with an initial suspense date of 10 January 1969 which his office failed to meet, since the final copies of the Johnson History were not submitted to the White House until 16 January 1969. He believes the Johnson History was printed in two or three sets, each set consisting of a total of 27 volumes. He felt it necessary to explain the general details of his part in the Johnson History because his association with the Johnson History and the Vietnam Task Force Group paralleled each other in that it consisted primarily of reproduction and collation. He vaguely recalls receiving the reproduction request on the Vietnam Study sometime immediately prior to Christmas 1968, and he believes no action was taken on this request until sometime shortly after 1 January 1969. He recalls being advised by General Hixon of the sensitive nature of the project, since it was on this basis that he personally handled all arrangements with the DoD Printing Plant. He recalls in making these arrangements with the Printing Plant that the volumes of the study (most of them typewritten originals) were to be handcarried in groups of two or three by Dean directly to the Printing Plant. The volumes would then be Xeroxed during the night and the following morning Dean would personally go to the Printing Plant and pick up the completed work. Dean vaguely recalls that the completed printing was given to him in a sealed box. He would sign a work receipt at the time he

received a box from the Printing Plant; would return with the box immediately to his office, and conduct an inventory to assure that the reproduction was complete and that the originals had been included with the reproduced copies of the volumes. As soon as he had made a positive determination he would carry the completed printing together with the originals to General Hixon's office and would himself place the original in Hixon's safe and the completed printing in the Secretary's vault located in Hixon's office. Dean is unable to recall the number of volumes included in the final study, nor is he able to specifically recall the number of copies reproduced by the Printing Plant. He does recall the work was accomplished in a piecemeal fashion because General Hixon was receiving the originals from the Task Force in a piecemeal fashion. In pursuing this phase of the operation, Dean recalled some of the original volumes were contained in manila folders and that the contents of these manila folders were in relative disarray. He explained this comment by saying he remembers having to place the pages in order and in some cases having to number them on the bottom center himself. He further recalls that in putting some of this last material in order, on at least one occasion he noted some of the pages were missing. On at least one occasion he advised General Hixon of the fact that some pages were missing and Hixon referred him to an Air Force colonel who Dean believes was associated with the study group but whose name he is unable to recall. On at least one occasion, this Air Force colonel was unable to furnish him with the missing pages, and so the material went to the printers in an incomplete fashion - minus the missing pages. He is certain most of the original drafts of the study consisted of bound volumes with blue covers. When queried specifically, he was unable to recall any of the originals being contained in black three-ring notebooks. He said he could not rule out the possibility; however, because the TFX material he was responsible for was stored in three-ring black notebooks, it was not likely he would be able to recall similarly bound material as submitted by the Task Force. Dean's account of the printing, assembling, and storing of the finished 47 volumes of the study agrees substantially with the details furnished by Felicione. Dean, however, does not agree with Felicione's statement that all of the Task Force printing was completed by the end of January 1969. Dean recalls that the printing went well into the Spring and the final portions may have been completed as late as May 1969. Again, he vaguely recalls that the completed original drafts were being submitted to General Hixon during this period of time by the Task Force in a piecemeal fashion. Dean is unable to recall the precise type of binding that was used in the final 47-volume study, primarily because he found it difficult to differentiate between the printing of the Johnson History and the final printing of the Vietnam Task Force Study.

In calling to mind some of the specifics involved in his handling of the Vietnam Task Force Study reproduction, Dean advised that, with the exception of the receipts he signed when he went to pick the printing up from the Printing Plant, no security receipting system was utilized either when he removed the originals from General Hixon's office, handcarried them to the Printing Plant, or finally returned them to General Hixon's office. While he is not certain, he seems to remember boxing the final sets of the study volumes in Hixon's office and placing these boxes in the

Secretary of Defense vault. He said he has no knowledge of the ultimate distribution; however, he seems to recall someone told him Mr. Warnke would be receiving a copy.

Dean stated he seemed to recall General Hixon contacting him sometime subsequent to the completion of the final printing of the Vietnam Study, and asking him to reproduce additional copies of the study. He remembers being somewhat annoyed by this request since it interfered with plans he had made for taking leave. He is unable to state whether this additional printing involved the entire study or selected volumes, nor is he able to recall whether Hixon furnished him a reason for the additional printing.

Dean examined the original color code disposition sheets captioned "SecDef Vietnam Task Force" prepared by General Hixon and was asked if he had any knowledge whatsoever concerning them. Dean stated emphatically that he had never seen these disposition sheets before. However, he vaguely recalls using a similar type system for maintaining accountability for each volume handcarried for reproduction purposes to the Defense Printing Plant. To the best of his knowledge, these particular accountability record sheets were destroyed when the reproduction project was completed.

In attempting to establish the exact date when the first series of volumes of the Vietnam Task Force Report were reproduced by the Defense Printing Plant, Dean was shown a copy of DoD Printing Requisition No. SD-1665 (Job No. D63104), dated 6 January 1969, requested by George W. Elsey. Dean noted this was an open requisition for the month of "January only" for 15 copies of 5,000 pages (plus or minus). The delivery, according to the requisition, was to be made to Lt Commander Dean. Dean was relatively certain this was the first requisition submitted in connection with the reproduction of the Task Force Report. He also expressed the belief that no printing was actually accomplished until February. In support of this statement, Dean remembers, quite vividly, General Hixon's concern over the fact that for several weeks after preparation of the 6 January 1969 requisition no work had actually been accomplished by the Defense Printing Plant. Dean gave a negative response when asked several times during the interview if he could recall the reasons for the delay. NOTE: On 30 July 1971, records of the Defense Printing Service (DPS), U.S. Navy, were examined in the presence of Mr. J. W. Snure, Director of DPS, and it was determined that no delivery receipts were attached to Job No. D63104. Snure explained that this could have been an open requisition for the printing of the entire report and since the DPS closes out all requisitions at the end of the month, this particular requisition was closed out without any printing being done.

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August 23, 1971

FBI, ATTN: [REDACTED]

Attached are five additional reports
in duplicate.

Jack J. Cromar

JACK J. CROMAR
OSD Investigating Team

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5 ENCLOSURE

ST-110

Defense Department
Office of the General Counsel
INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure
of Classified Information
Regarding U. S. - Vietnam
Relations 1945-1967
Beginning 13 June 1971

Date: 23 AUG 1971
Period: 2, 3, 10, 16 August 1971
Status: Pending
Prepared By: Robert H. Hagan

SUMMARY

Miss Margaret S. Enright, secretary (SAFIL), advised she recalled being with the OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group) from July 1967 to August 1968. Her duties consisted of taking dictation, typing, and retyping draft material. She also typed numerous volumes in final. She recalled that Chief Fox did most of the reproduction of the published bound copies, which was accomplished in the DoD printing plant in either 4 or 5 copies, on a handcarry basis by Fox. All final copies she worked on were furnished either to Dr. Leslie Gelb or Colonel Paul Gorman and she never saw them again. She believed she worked on about 30 volumes of the study, and that others were completed in Dr. Gelb's office. She knew nothing of any further reproduction of the 4 or 5 copies. She has had no contacts concerning the Study Group with unauthorized persons, and knew of no others who have had such contacts. She furnished samples of the type of paper reportedly used by the Gelb Study Group in preparing final copies of reports.

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DETAILS

On 2, 3, 10 and 16 August 1971, Miss Margaret S. Enright was interviewed by Special Agents Robert H. Hagan and Dallas G. Weddle. She advised she is currently assigned as a GS-8 in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Installations and Logistics) (SAFIL). After being briefed on the nature of the investigation, Miss Enright provided information set out below:

She was with the OSD Vietnam Task Force (Gelb Study Group) almost from its inception, recalling the dates as being from July 1967 to August 1968. She was the second secretary to be assigned to the Gelb Study Group.

The physical setup in the early stages of the Study Group was as follows: Dr. Leslie Gelb had an office in the inside of Ring E across from the Secretary of Defense's Office. She was on the outside of Ring E in the Secretary's suite (3E880) in a room next to Colonel Robert Gard. In her room eventually were four girls: Anne Wassil, Kate Kellog, Delores Nagy and herself. In the next room were members of the Study Group among whom she recalled were Gorman, Schwartz (apparently Schweitzer) Gearin, Simko and Curtov. Also in that room were two sergeants who handled administrative details.

She stated after Mr. Clark Clifford became Secretary of Defense (January-February 1968), Dr. Gelb remained in his office, but the Study Group members and the administrative staff were moved to the 2C corridor in an area of OSD, Systems Analysis.

In her opinion, as far as her assignment was concerned, Colonel Gorman was the key figure in the Study Group being the "Staff Director" and "Dr. Gelb's Assistant." He talked to her upon her assignment, discussed the mission and gave her a detailed security briefing. Generally he would assign her work, but as time progressed, she was assigned work by other members.

She had no responsibilities in the receipt, accountability, disposition, etc., of incoming/outgoing correspondence and material. She thought this was all handled by the two sergeants. She could not recall if she had combinations to any or all safes, but she did recall there were several safes in the room where she sat as well as in the room where the working members sat. She stated Colonel Gorman was extremely security conscious.

There was a Xerox machine in her office in 3E880 available to all personnel. The Study Group members were constantly making copies of various kinds of materials, reports, cables, etc., being worked on by the group; much of which was classified. This concerned her as to the security aspects, but she was not aware of any violations.

Her duties primarily consisted of taking dictation, typing, and retyping rough drafts; she also typed the final draft of some volumes, the exact

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number unrecalled. In these cases, the entire final draft, including the page numbering and typing on the security classification (usually TOP SECRET-SENSITIVE) would be approved by Dr. Gelb. Thereafter, the volumes were handcarried to the printing room for reproduction. She first thought 4 copies were made from the final draft but said later that there may have been 5 copies made from the original.

Regarding the printing and preparation of the final volumes, Miss Enright tried during several contacts to reconstruct in her memory how it occurred but was quite hazy. She did believe that the great majority of the printing was handled by military administrative personnel. She could not be specific about the dates of assignment of the military personnel but thought that beginning at the time of her assignment to the Study Group, a Sergeant Terrell was there for about three months, followed by a Sergeant Goode who was there only a short time and then Chief Fox of the Navy who was there all the remaining time she worked with the Study Group. It was her further recollection that Chief Fox did most of the reproduction work and this seemed more likely because the various Study Group members were beginning to produce volumes of the study after his arrival. Her recollection was that the covers had previously been made up and that after Dr. Gelb had approved the final draft of a volume, Chief Fox would go to the printing room, get the volume reproduced and return to the work area. Chief Fox and the girls would assemble each copy between covers, inserting any tabs in the appropriate places. Fox would then take the entire package back to the printing room where it was punched and a black comb plastic binder put in place. She said that the 5 copies (or 6) were given to Dr. Gelb or Colonel Gorman by Chief Fox and she never saw them again. She was of the opinion, however, that the original always went to the Secretary of Defense. Miss Enright could not recall how many volumes she worked on but thought it might be as many as 30. She thought that there were more prepared than 30 because some volumes were completed in final form in Dr. Gelb's office which she did not see. She was not aware of any subsequent reproduction of the 4 (or 5) copies that the Study Group prepared while she was assigned to it.

Miss Enright was not aware of any persons visiting the area who were not there on official business. She recalled a Mr. Holbrook from the State Department who came quite often and later became a member of the group. She was not aware of any persons not connected with the Government being in the area at any time, since all apparently were military, DoD or other agency civil servants or consultants from RAND.

To her knowledge there was no contact by telephone, mail, or personal visits of the Radio, TV, or news media. She commented that all the Study Group personnel appeared to be very objective and dedicated workers on the problem at hand. She never saw a mission statement, charter, or other directives of the Study Group. She stated she had never discussed the Gelb Study Group or made any unauthorized material or information relating to it available to any one.

Upon being questioned regarding the preparation, maintenance and disposition of any "private" papers of individuals involved with the group, she recalled that upon the death of Mr. McNaughton, Colonel Gorman had inventoried Mr. McNaughton's safe and had in his possession either two or three 3-ring black books of material from his safes. She recalled typing something regarding the notebooks, but could not specifically state what, but she thought he had catalogued the material and she typed the index. She recalled that after she did whatever she did, Colonel Gorman took the books and she did not see them again.

In discussing the members of the Study Group, Miss Enright mentioned she knew Ellsberg and had done some work for him. She provided no information of interest concerning him.

Miss Enright furnished two sheets of paper of the type used by the Study Group, one, according to her being ordinary bond paper and the second being of the so-called "oily" type. She said that when using the "oily" paper, if an error is made, the word or words can be painted white and the correct word or words retyped. She said she had these two sheets because at the completion of the project a farewell party was held and, in jest, she typed a memento of the occasion labeled "Lessons Applicable to Future Policy" on the first page. On the second page she typed the names of all persons she thought were connected in any way with the Study Group.

Miss Enright was questioned regarding her recollections of the system used by the Gelb Study Group to number pages of the various rough draft papers and finished volumes of the study.

She could not recall any numbering on any rough draft material, although there may have been such. On finished volumes, she was quite certain that the page numbers were typed on the bottom as the typing of the page was completed.

There was one notable exception, she recalled that on a study completed by Colonel Simko, the title unknown, there was an occasion to include a large number of pages which required numbering because they consisted of Xerox copies of reproduced copies of material, documents or statements regarding Vietnam. She estimated that this group was $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 inches thick and perhaps consisted of a thousand pages. Sergeant Don Kredl was assigned the task of numbering the pages with a hand-stamping machine. He erred or the machine was not working properly and about 200 pages needed to have the numbers corrected. She did this by "white out" on the oily type pages. She could not recall the title or material involved and suggested Vera Nutt and Willard Mitchell be contacted for possible information.

She recalled (on being questioned on the Cable Books, McNamara briefing books, etc.) that there were a series of books borrowed from JCS and used by the Study Group. She said that material found in the books was used in the studies being prepared. She said this caused a bit of trouble because

some material was extracted and reproduced, but when the books were returned they may not have been as they were when borrowed - i.e., possibly being out of order or possibly a question if any pages were missing. She thought these books were three-ring and black.

She recalled also that in the latter part of the time she was with the Study Group, when she was in the office in the 2C corridor, she spent some time cleaning out some safes. She cannot recall the nature of the material, but she put it in clean folders and sent them upstairs to Dr. Gelb and presumed they were filed in ISA safes. She thought the material was copies of various materials from DoD files, other agencies and rough drafts, etc., from reports being used by the Study Group.

The individuals affiliated with the Gelb Study Group mentioned by Miss Enright are further identified below:

Daniel Ellsberg, now with MIT

Donald E. Fox, now retired living in Alexandria, Virginia

BG Robert G. Gard, now assigned to the Military District of Washington
Lt Col Cornelius Gearin, now assigned to Deputy Chief of Staff,

Military Operations USA, Pentagon

SSgt Clyne A. Goods, now assigned to MACV

Colonel Paul F. Gorman, now assigned to MACV

Melvin Gurto, University of California

Richard D. Holbrooke, General Reserach Corporation,
Santa Barbara, California

Katheryn R. Kellogg, now Mrs. David A. Burchinal living in Germany
Donald P. Kredel, now discharged, living in [REDACTED]

Vera Nutt, present location unknown

Lt Col Robert L. Sweitzer, now in MACV

Col Andrew M. Simko, killed in action

CW2 Franklin D. Terrell, now assigned to 3rd Army Hq. Ft McPherson,
Georgia

Anne R. Wassil, now assigned SAFIL, Pentagon

Defense Department
Office of the General Counsel
INVESTIGATIVE REPORT

Title: Unauthorized Disclosure of Classified Information Regarding U.S. - Vietnam Relations 1945-1967, Beginning 13 June 1971	Date: 17 August 1971 Period: 4-5 August 1971 Status: Pending Prepared By: Dallas G. Weddle
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SUMMARY

Miss Anne Wassil, secretary (SAFLL), advised she was the first secretary assigned to the OSD Vietnam Task Force and performed duty from mid-June 1967 to shortly after 10 January 1968. At the time of her assignment, the Task Force consisted of Dr. Gelb, Dr. Gurlov, Colonel Gorman, and one or two administrative personnel. She recalled that as a volume of the Task Force study was completed and approved by Dr. Gelb, it was reproduced in five copies and bound with plastic comb binding with a blue cover. She was unable to furnish any information concerning the final disposition of the original papers or the bound volumes; however, she believed one copy of the bound volumes was designated for Mr. McNamara. Miss Wassil described the security procedures within the Task Force as being "very lax," and it was not uncommon for support personnel to reproduce multi-copies of pages of the study for various members of the Task Force. There was no accountability for these reproduced documents which, for the most part, were highly classified. The classification was not placed on any document until the document had been approved by Dr. Gelb and typed in final format. She recommended Margaret Enright for assignment to the Task Force as Miss Enright possessed a type of security access desired by Dr. Gelb. Miss Enright subsequently replaced Miss Wassil as the "top secretary" of the Task Force when Miss Wassil departed. She has made no unauthorized disclosure of any material or information relating to the Gelb Study to anyone.

This document is the property of the Office of the General Counsel, Department of Defense and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Copies to: FBI-(Bufile 65-74060) Justice Dept. (Internal Security Div.) The White House File	-2 -2 -1 -2
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Approved: 1421
J. Fred Buzhardt
J. FRED BUZHARDT

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

DETAILS:

On 4-5 August 1971 Miss Anne Wassil, Stenographer GS-9, presently assigned to the Office of Legislative Liaison, Department of the Air Force (SAFL), Room 5D934, was interviewed by Special Agents Robert H. Hagan and Dallas G. Weddle concerning her knowledge of and participation with the OSD Vietnam Task Force, also referred to as the Gelb Study Group. Miss Wassil stated she was the first secretary assigned to the Study Group which was some time in mid-June 1967. She remained until shortly after 10 January 1968. Wassil recalled Dr. Melvin Gurto was assigned the same day, because she vividly remembers he gave her 40 pages of rough draft typing he had done for her to type in final form. She also recalled that Colonel Paul Gorman and one or two administrative military personnel whom she could not further identify, in addition to Dr. Leslie Gelb were already assigned when she arrived. Initially the Study Group was working in offices considered a part of the Secretary of Defense's suite, Room 3E880. As personnel were added, the space became more congested until Dr. Gelb moved across the hall to an office on the inside of E-ring.

Colonel Gorman was responsible for the administrative functions of the Study Group. For the first three months of her assignment she worked primarily for Dr. Gelb and was considered the "top secretary" until she left in 1968. She was responsible for passing out typing or work assignments to the other secretaries assigned to the Study Group. When Dr. Gelb moved across the hall she remained in Room 3E880. At the request of Dr. Gelb she recommended Margaret Enright for assignment because she possessed a type of specific access which was required by Dr. Gelb. When Wassil departed in 1968, Enright took over her duties and, to Wassil's knowledge, Enright took her desk and never moved across the hall with Dr. Gelb. Enright worked most of the time for Colonel Gorman, and Dr. Holbrooke, State Department.

Wassil advised that the person responsible for a study would either dictate or submit his work to be typed in long hand. It was then typed in a double or triple-spaced draft for his review. After he had corrected the paper(s) to his satisfaction, a clear double or triple-spaced draft was prepared for Dr. Gelb's review. To the best of Wassil's knowledge, Dr. Gelb was the final approving authority on all studies prepared. After

Dr. Gelb's approval, the papers were typed final, single-spaced, with the appropriate security classification, usually Top Secret-Sensitive, typed on the top and bottom of each page. This final product was returned to the action officer for proofreading, then returned to Dr. Gelb. As a volume was completed, one of the enlisted personnel would reproduce five copies on a xerox machine, usually the one in their office, or wherever they could find a machine not being used. Wassil and Enright then inserted tabs to mark certain chapters, etc., and placed previously printed covers and backs on the volumes. The enlisted man then took the volumes to the printing place where they were bound with plastic comb binders. These bound volumes were then stored in the Study Group area, but she does not recall exactly where. To the best of her knowledge, only dark blue or black plastic was used in the binding. Wassil does not recall how many volumes were completed before she left.

Wassil advised she handcarried the original design for the covers and backs used on the final volumes to the office of the Graphics Department in the Pentagon where a master plate was prepared. This plate was subsequently taken by one of the enlisted men to the Printing Department in the Pentagon basement for printing. Rarely were work orders prepared or required for reproduction by personnel of the Study Group. As a general rule, the comment "I'm from OSD and we need this in a hurry" was sufficient to accomplish any administrative assignment. Initially, Wassil was positive the original of each document after the reproduced copies were bound was returned to her and she placed them in a three-ring loose-leaf binder that she understood was for Mr. McNamara. However, after much consideration and thought, Wassil stated she was unable to recall exactly what happened to the original papers of each volume. She could not recall that anyone received a copy of a finished volume other than Mr. McNamara.

Wassil commented there was no "in briefing" on the security requirements, nor were there any debriefing certificates required of personnel when they departed. She described security within the Study Group work areas as being "very lax"; there were no visitor controls, and people were in and out constantly. Xerox machines in the Secretary of Defense's suite, as well as xerox machines throughout the Pentagon were used to reproduce copies of papers, cables, etc., including material brought in by Dr. Holbrooke, State Department. She recalled one instance that Dr. Gurtova took a briefcase of papers (she was certain they were classified) to Rand in California to work on. She had no idea what the papers pertained

to. All Study Group staff personnel were continually taking papers in and out of the office, or building, without following proper security procedures. To her knowledge, no TV or Press representatives were ever in the Study Group work area. She added that Erna Tucker, a receptionist for the area where Dr. Gelb moved his office, should be knowledgeable if any TV or Press representatives contacted Dr. Gelb.

Wassil advised that Kay Kellogg and Delores Nagy were secretaries assigned to the Study Group prior to November 1967, and were working in the area where Dr. Gelb eventually moved his office. Kellogg took almost all of Dr. Gelb's dictation after he moved. To the best of her knowledge, Kellogg and Nagy remained with the Study Group until the project was completed. Wassil remembered that a Sergeant Frank Terrell, PFC Donald P. Kredel, and two "lady enlistees" performed administrative duties with the Group. Subsequently, Terrell was replaced by a Sergeant Goode, who was followed by Chief Petty Officer Donald Fox, USN, exact dates not recalled.

Wassil concluded that, although she did not fully understand the mission of the Study Group or comprehend all she typed, she had the feeling they were "writing" Mr. McNamara's book which would be published after he left the Department of Defense.

The individuals mentioned above are further identified as follows:

Dr. Leslie Gelb, Chairman, Study Group.
Believed to be with Brookings Institute

Dr. Melvin Gurlov
University of California at Riverside, California

Colonel Paul F. Gorman, Deputy to Dr. Gelb
Phu Bau, Vietnam

Miss Margaret S. Enright
Office, Secretary of the Air Force (Installations & Logistics),
Room 4D-870, Pentagon, Telephone 76273

Dr. Richard Holbrooke
General Research Corp., Santa Barbara, California

Mrs. Kathryn R. Burchinal, nee Kellogg
c/o General David A. Burchinal, Hq EUCOM, Germany

Delores Nagy
Present location unknown

Donald E. Terrell
CWO2 Hq 3rd Army, Ft. McPherson, Georgia

Donald P. Kredel, Formerly U.S. Army
Home of Record: [REDACTED]

Clyne A. Goode, SSgt, U.S. Army
Hq MACV, Saigon, Vietnam

Donald E. Fox, CPO USN (Ret.)
Current Employment: U.S. Post Office, Bailey's
Cross Roads Branch, Falls Church, Virginia

1421 23

PAGE TWO

EXCERPTS FROM REVISED PAGES THREE AND FOUR WHICH WERE TO BE
SUBSTITUTED IN THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENT.

WILLIAM GERHARD, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE INVESTIGATING TEAM
ADVISED THAT THE DOCUMENT AS PUBLISHED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES
DOES NOT CONTAIN THESE CHANGES POINTING OUT THAT THE NEW YORK
TIMES ARTICLE FOLLOWS THE SAME WORDING AS THE PAGES OF THE
DOCUMENT CHECKED INTO THE RAND CORPORATION, SANTA MONICA,
DOCUMENT CONTROL SYSTEM BY ELLSBERG ON MARCH THIRTEEN, SIXTYEIGHT,
THE RAND COPY RECOVERED DID NOT CONTAIN THE AMENDED PAGES.
THIS CONCLUSION BY DOD SUGGESTS THAT THE RAND SANTA MONICA
COPY OF THE DOCUMENT CHECKED IN BY ELLSBERG WAS REPRODUCED FROM
THE INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS COPY OF THE SECRETARY OF
DEFENSE COPY OF THE REPORT. DOD HAS NOT REPORTED TO DATE THE
LOCATION OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE COPY WHEREBY A
DETERMINATION COULD BE MADE WHETHER AMENDED PAGES THREE AND FOUR
HAD BEEN INSERTED. ENCLOSURE TO RE BUREAU AIRTEL POINTED
OUT THAT THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE COPY HAD BEEN
LOCATED AND THAT THE AMENDED PAGES HAD BEEN INSERTED.
END PAGE TWO

2248
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PAGE THREE

AND THAT IT HAD BEEN DETERMINED THAT THE AMENDED PAGES HAD NOT BEEN INSERTED IN THE ISA COPY.

WFO TELETYPE SEPTEMBER SIXTEEN, LAST, REPORTED COMMENTS OF DOD THAT A RECENT STUDY HAD DISCLOSED THAT AT LEAST ONE DOCUMENT QUOTED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES IS A CONDENSED VERSION OF A SOURCE DOCUMENT AND THE SAME CONDENSATION OF THE DOCUMENT WAS FOUND IN THE SIMONS' PAPERS. DOD AT THAT TIME WAS CONDUCTING FURTHER INVESTIGATION TO DETERMINE IF ADDITIONAL ARTICLES IN THE NEW YORK TIMES WITH DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS COULD BE IDENTIFIED AMONG OTHER MATERIAL IN THE SIMONS' PAPERS.

MERHARD OF DOD HAS NOW ADVISED THAT THE DOCUMENTS IN THE SIMONS' PAPERS RECOVERED FROM THE RAND CORPORATION, SANTA MONICA, ARE ALL XEROXED REPRODUCTIONS OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS INDICATING THAT THERE ARE OR WERE OTHER IDENTICAL DOCUMENTS IN EXISTENCE. HE THEREFORE CONCLUDED THAT DOD HAS BEEN UNABLE TO FIND ANY DISTINCTIVE DOCUMENTS WHICH COULD HAVE BEEN OBTAINED FROM A SOURCE OTHER THAN THE SIMONS' PAPERS.

END PAGE THREE

2248
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11/3/71

Airtel

- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. J. R. Wagoner
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, WFO (65-11613)

From: Director, FBI (65-74060)

O MC LEK
SIO

ReLAirtel 10/26/71 and enclosed LHM on the same date.

WFO will note that on page 3 of referenced LHM, Jan L. Butler, former Top Secret Control Officer, Rand, Santa Monica, California, stated that to her knowledge Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) material was very difficult to obtain by Rand and she assumed that whenever JCS material arrived at Rand, it was the result of an agreement between a JCS or Pentagon employee and someone at Rand, Santa Monica. Butler had previously furnished details concerning Daniel Ellsberg's turning over of the so-called "Wheeler Report," JCS material, to the Top Secret Control System at Rand, Santa Monica, on 3/13/68.

b5 During the course of inquiry at Department of Defense (DOD) into the origins and handling of various copies of the "Wheeler Report" within DOD, particularly in the Office of International Security Affairs (ISA), WFO should attempt to develop any information concerning the individuals who may have allowed Daniel Ellsberg to obtain a copy of eight pages of the "Wheeler Report" and determine also if, in fact, Ellsberg was ever granted courier status to transport eight pages from DOD to Rand, Santa Monica, shortly before 3/13/68. WFO will note that Morton Halperin, who was formerly in ISA, would be a logical individual to interview concerning Ellsberg's acquisition of significant portions of the "Wheeler Report," mentioned above.

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Tolson
Felt
Rosen
Mohr
Bishop
Miller, E.B.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Delaney
Cleveland
Ponder
Bales
Tavel
Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

1 - Los Angeles (105-27952) REC 43

65-74060-2261
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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SEE NOTE PAGE TWO
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V68/ffu

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MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to WFO

Re: MC LEK

65-74060

NOTE:

By memo, dated 10/30/71, the Internal Security Division of the Department furnished an analysis relative to the "Wheeler Report", significant portions of which appeared in a "The New York Times" article concerning the "McNamara Study." The Internal Security Division submitted 10 questions to be resolved concerning the acquisition of eight pages of the "Wheeler Report" which was transported by Daniel Ellsberg from DOD to Rand, Santa Monica. As stated above, Jan Butler furnished information disclosing that such documents were difficult to obtain from DOD and suggested that additional inquiry at DOD, relative to the possibility that Ellsberg had been granted courier status in connection with the document, be initiated. WFO is conducting inquiry concerning the "Wheeler Report" at DOD and additional lead is being submitted in order that all questions concerning the "Wheeler Report" be resolved.

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FBI

Date: 8/9/71

Mr. [unclear]
Mr. [unclear]

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (65-74060)
(ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

FROM: SAC, WFO (65-11613)

MC LEK
NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE

REC'D

WFO/Nationalities

ReWFOairtel to Bureau 8/5/71 setting forth a list of 66 individuals identified as having been associated in some capacity with the Vietnam Task Force Study.

[] Information received from the Department of Defense (DOD) on 8/5/71 consisting of an amended list of those associated with the Vietnam Task Force Study contains the following changes to information previously set forth in referenced airtel:

- Information 61056
2-Bureau
1-Alexandria (65-67)(Info)
1-Atlanta (Info)
1-Baltimore (Info)
1-Boston (65-5236)(Info)
1-Buffalo (Info)
1-Chicago (Info)
1-Detroit (Info)
2-Los Angeles (105-27952)(Info)
1-Louisville (Info)
1-New York (65-25641)(Info)
1-Norfolk (Info)
1-WFO

REC'D 65-74060-1087

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CAR:rs
(15)

432-140-1111

File 5-73

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____ DOD

Special Agent in Charge

59AUG16 1971

WFO 65-11613

The name of Captain LESLIE ASPEN, cited in referenced airtel, according to DOD information received 8/5/71 is corrected to Captain LESLIE ASPIN. According to information received from DOD 8/5/71, ASPIN is currently a member of Congress, elected 11/3/70.

The name of DONALD L. FOX, USN, is corrected to DONALD E. FOX, USNR, Chief Petty Officer (retired). His location is unknown.

BARBARA H. ZBIERAJEWSKA is also known, according to information received 8/5/71, as Mrs. BARBARA H. RHODES. She is believed to be living in the WDC area but not working due to pregnancy.

Information received from DOD on 8/5/71 contained no additional names of members of the Vietnam Task Force Study.

DOD files on the following individuals who are listed in referenced airtel have been reviewed by WFO: Dr. MARTIN J. BAILEY; Lieutenant Colonel DONALD CLELLAND; JOHN COURT; Captain FRANK R. FAHLAND; USN; Captain JEAN FITZGERALD; DONALD E. FOX, USNR; Lieutenant Colonel JOHN R. GALVIN; Colonel ROBERT GARD; Major MICHAEL GILLETTE; Colonel PAUL F. GORMAN; MELVIN GURTOV; Dr. EDWARD C. JANICIK; Dr. PAUL H. JOHNSTONE; Dr. WILLIAM W. KAUFMAN; DAVID K. KLEINBERG; Colonel HAAKON LINDJORD; ERNEST R. MAY; DELORES NAGY; VERA NUTT; ANDREW J. PIERRE; JOHN PONTURO; KENNETH E. ROBERTS; Lieutenant Colonel ROBERT L. SCHWEITZER; Lieutenant Colonel JOHN W. SEIGLE; Colonel WILLIAM E. SIMONS; RUTH S. SINCLAIR; STEPHEN K. SMITH; Staff Sergeant FRANKLIN D. TERRELL; RICHARD ULLMAN; Lieutenant Colonel DALE O. VESSER; Staff Sergeant KARLA G. VON HUBEN; ANNE R. WASSIL.

WFO 65-11613

In addition WFO has reviewed DOD files for SHIRLEY HAMMOND MOORSTEEN, wife of RICHARD H. MOORSTEEN, and GERALD NUTT, husband of VERA NUTT.

It is noted that DOD files reviewed to date contain no significant derogatory security information, information showing any association with DANIEL ELLSBERG or information indicating any possible connection with leaks of classified material.

Recommendations re interviews of individuals whose files have been reviewed will be submitted by WFO teletype. WFO will also review the files of remaining persons associated with the Vietnam Task Force Study as soon as they are available at DOD and will submit recommendations to the Bureau re interviews with these individuals.

F B I

Date: 8/5/71

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (65-74060) (ATTENTION: DOMESTIC
FROM: SAC, WFO (65-11613) (P) INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

MC LEK
NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE

REC-89

Re Bureau airtel 7/12/71 instructing WFO undertake necessary inquiries to identify all persons who participated in the Vietnam Task Force Study; to locate and review results of security investigations concerning them; to obtain a succinct summary of background including derogatory security information, information regarding association by Task Force members with ELLSBERG and any information regarding possible connection with leaks of classified information; and thereafter, to consider advisability of interviews.

Through coordination with a Department of Defense Task Force involved in the DOD investigation regarding the Vietnam Task Force Study and related documents, 66 individuals have been identified as having been associated in some capacity with the group which prepared the Study. A list of these individuals prepared by DOD and containing available information follows.

- 2- Bureau (Enc. 1)
- 2- Boston (65-5236) (Enc. 1)
- 2- Alexandria (65-67) (Enc. 1)
- 2- Los Angeles (105-27952) (Enc. 1)
- 2- New York (65-25641) (Enc. 1)
- 1- Baltimore
- 1- Detroit
- 1- Norfolk
- 1- Buffalo
- 1- Atlanta
- 1- Louisville
- 1- Chicago
- 1- WFO

EX 101

REC-89

65 14010 1077

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BCR:cb (18)

AP 60AUS 181971
FBI Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

NFO 65-11613

background information together with supporting documentation, including information developed by the FBI [redacted]

[redacted] is enclosed for the information of the Bureau, Boston, Los Angeles, New York and Alexandria Offices, the names of these individuals together with their military ranks at the time of the Study and currently available information indicating their current whereabouts is set forth as follows:

Captain LESLIE VASPEN [redacted]
Whereabouts Unknown

Dr. MARTIN J. BAILEY [redacted]
University of Rochester
New York

RICHARD E. BALZHISER [redacted]
University of Michigan

JERRY E. BUSH
Whereabouts Unknown

Lt. Col. DONALD KLELLAND [redacted]
SAFAA, Room 5C124 [redacted]
Pentagon [redacted]

Major CHARLES M. COOKE [redacted]
Administrative Assistant to
Secretary ELLIOTT RICHARDSON
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C. (WDC)

JOHN COURT [redacted]
National Security Council
The White House

Lt. Col. JAMES F. EDGAR [redacted]
Headquarters, MACV, 3rd Corps [redacted]
APO SF 96227 (Vietnam)

WFO 65-11613

Dr. DANIEL ELLSBERG
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

MARGARET S. ENRIGHT
SAFIL, Room 4D870
Pentagon

Captain FRANK R. KAHLAND, USN
Nuclear Power School
Mare Highland, California

Captain JEAN FITZGERALD
USS Yosmite, FPO NY 09501

UNSN DONALD L. FOX, USN
Naval Training Center
Bainbridge, Maryland

CHARLES E. FRITZ
Weapons System, Evaluation Group
400 Army Navy Drive
Arlington, Virginia

Lt. Col. JOHN R. GALVIN
Army Combined Development Command
Fort Belvoir, Virginia

Col. ROBERT GARD
Military District of Washington
WDC

Lt. Col. CORNELIUS GEARIN
Deputy Chief of Staff, Military Operations
Pentagon

Dr. LESLIE H. GELB
Brookings Institution, WDC

WFO 65-11613

Major MICHAEL GILLETTE
World Bank

Col. PAUL F. GORMAN
HAC, 101 ABM, First AM
Brigade, APO SF 96383 (Vietnam)

MELVIN GURTOV
University of California,
Riverside, California

Dr. MORTON H. HALPERIN
Brookings Institution, WDC

VICTOR K. HEYMAN
Rand Corporation
(California or WDC Unknown)

Brigadier General ROBERT HIXON
Pentagon

GERTRUDE HOSKINS
Whereabouts Unknown

Dr. RICHARD HOLBROOKE
Peace Corps, Morocco

Dr. EDWARD C. JANICKI
Possibly WDC

Dr. PAUL H. JOHNSTONE
John Hopkins University
Baltimore, Maryland

Dr. WILLIAM W. KAUFMAN DC
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

WFO 65-11613

Dr. HENRY A. KISSINGER,
The White House

DAVID K. KLEINBERG
Whereabouts Unknown

(FNU) KRAEDEL
Whereabouts Unknown

SVEN F. KRAEMER ^{IV}
Believed National Security Council
The White House

Rear Admiral WILLIAM LEMOS
Deputy Chief of Staff ^{Dr.}
L & M, Cinclant
FLT, Norfolk, Virginia

Col. HAKON LINDJORD, Ret.
Residne [REDACTED]

HOWARD N. MARCOLIS ^{COLIS}
Institute for Defense Analyses
Arlington, Virginia ^{SC}

ERNEST R. MAY
Harvard University ^{III} ^{DC}

JOHN MC NAUGHTON, deceased

Lt. Col. DANA G. MEAD
Military District of Washington

WILLARD H. MITCHELL
OSA/ISA, Room 4C760
Pentagon ^{DC}

WFO 65-11613

Dr. RICHARD MOORSTEEN
Rand Corporation
California

DELORES NAGY DC
Whereabouts Unknown

VERA NBTT
Whereabouts Unknown

PHILLIP A. ODEEN
OSD, Room 2E812 V1
Pentagon

DONALD G. OGILVIE DC
Whereabouts Unknown

ANDREW J. PIERRE
Council of Foreign Relations
New York City DC

JOHN PONTURO
Institute for Defense Analyses
Arlington, Virginia DC

Brigadier General ROBERT E. PURSLEY
OSD
Pentagon

KENNETH E. ROBERTS
OSD/ISA, Room 4B870 V1
Pentagon

HENRY ROWEN
Rand Corporation
California DC

WFO 65-11613

Lt. Col. HERBERT SCHANDLER
Student, Infantry School
Fort Benning, Georgia

GUSTAVE H. SHUBERT
Rand Corporation
(WDC or California Unknown)

Lt. Col. ROBERT L. SCHWEITZER
Support Command DC
APO SF 96238 (Vietnam)

Lt. Col. JOHN W. SEIGLE
Office of Chief of Staff
Room 3C626
Pentagon

Col. ANDREW M. SIMKO, deceased

Col. WILLIAM E. SIMONS
OSD/ISA
Pentagon

RUTH S. SINCLAIR DC
Whereabouts Unknown

STEPHEN K. SMITH
Army Courier Service
880 Pickett Street DC
Alexandria, Virginia

SUSAN STENSrud
Whereabouts Unknown

Staff Sgt. FRANKLIN D. TERRELL
612 TC Heavy Battalion Company
Fort Eustis, Virginia

WFO 65-11613

RICHARD ULLMAN
Princeton University

Lt. Col. DALE O. VESSER
Army Armor School
Fort Knox, Kentucky

Staff Sgt. KARLA G. VON HUBEN
Naval Air Station
Glenville, Illinois

PAUL C. WARNKE
Law Firm
WDC

ANNE R. WASSIL
Whereabouts Unknown

BARBARA K. ZBIERAJEWSKA
Believed WDC area

WFO has previously interviewed ROBERT GARD, LESLIE GELB, MORTON HALPERIN, ROBERT HIXON, ROBERT PURSLEY, WILLIAM SIMONS and PAUL WARNKE. Results of these interviews are set forth in WFO reports dated 6/28, 7/16 and 8/2/71.

Los Angeles has previously interviewed MELVINE CURTOV, RICHARD MOORSTEEN and HENRY ROWEN; Results have previously been set forth in Los Angeles reports.

CHARLES COOKE will not be interviewed in accordance with WFO teletype 7/21/71.

JOHN MC NAUGHTON and ANDREW SIMKO are deceased.

No consideration being given interview of Dr. HENRY KISSINGER.

WFO 65-11613

In addition the DOD personnel and security files of GARD, GELB, HALPERIN, SIMONS, WARNKE, GURTOV and MOORSTEEN have been reviewed by WFO and, where not previously done, pertinent information being included in WFO reports.

Concerning the remaining individuals, WFO is currently in the process of reviewing and analyzing results of available DOD files and, following coordination with the DOD Task Force and evaluation regarding interviews in accordance with Bureau instructions, WFO will set forth teletype leads to interview. Where warranted due to availability of derogatory information, in connection with educational institutions or related reasons, appropriate recommendations regarding interviews will be made.

WFO 65-11613

PAGE TWO

AUTO TO VISIT TWO FRIENDS [REDACTED] DOES NOT KNOW EITHER FRIEND'S NAME OR ADDRESS, BUT IS SURE NEITHER WAS DANIEL ELLSBURG. [REDACTED] ONE OF THE FRIENDS WAS AN IRANIAN AND THAT [REDACTED] COULD FURNISH THE IDENTITIES AND ADDRESSES OF THE FRIENDS.

[REDACTED] RECOGNIZED THE NAME ELLSBURG AS BEING PROMINENT IN THE PENTAGON PAPERS CASE, BUT DENIED ANY ACQUAINTANCE WITH HIM. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
THIS FIELD IN EITHER THE GOVERNMENT OR PRIVATE INDUSTRY.

[REDACTED]
WFO HAS MAINTAINED CONTACT WITH THE OFFICE OF J. FRED BUZHARDT, GENERAL COUNSEL, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE (DOD), IN ORDER TO ASSURE THAT COPIES OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES POSSIBLY CONTAINING CLASSIFIED DATA AND NOW BEING STUDIED AT NSA, AND DOD EVALUATIONS OF NEWSPAPER DISCLOSURES IN THIS CASE, ARE PROMPTLY OBTAINED. INQUIRY AT BUZHARDT'S OFFICE ON INSTANT DATE DISCLOSED THAT COPIES OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES NOW AT NSA
END PAGE TWO

1043

17

WFO 65-11613

PAGE THREE

[REDACTED] ARE STILL NOT AVAILABLE AND THAT COMPILATION OF NSA STUDY IS STILL NOT COMPLETE.

THE RECORDS OF THE JEFFERSON HOTEL, ONE TWO ZERO ZERO SIXTEENTH STREET, NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON, D.C., CONFIRMED THAT [REDACTED] DESCRIBING HIMSELF IN REGISTRATION RECORDS AS AN EMPLOYEE OF THE QUOTE NEW YORK TIMES UNQUOTE, HAD REGISTERED AT THE HOTEL FOR THE PERIOD APRIL FIVE TO APRIL TWENTYTWO, LAST. REGISTRATION RECORDS DID NOT REFLECT THE NAME OF NEIL SHEEHAN AND HOTEL EMPLOYEES CONTACTED COULD NOT IDENTIFY A PHOTOGRAPH OF SHEEHAN. THE HOTEL RECORDS DISCLOSED THAT NUMEROUS LONG DISTANCE TELEPHONE CALLS WERE MADE. THESE NUMBERS WILL BE COMPARED WITH THOSE PREVIOUSLY IDENTIFIED IN THIS INVESTIGATION AND, WHERE WARRANTED, APPROPRIATE LEADS WILL BE SET OUT BY SEPARATE COMMUNICATION TO IDENTIFY SUBSCRIBERS.

EFFORTS TO CONTACT [REDACTED], EITHER AT HIS PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT AT THE QUOTE [REDACTED] UNQUOTE, IN GEORGETOWN,
END PAGE THREE

1043 17

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MR 8011 WF CODE

AUG 6 1971

TELETYPE

5:54PM IMMEDIATE 8-6-71 DLE

TO DIRECTOR (65-74060)

ATTN: DID

LOS ANGELES

BOSTON

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD (65-11613) THREE PAGES

PC LEX, NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE DASH SUMMARY.

RESPONSIVE TO BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS TO EXPAND INVESTIGATION TO DETERMINE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MC NAMARA STUDY DISCLOSURES BY VARIOUS NEWSPAPERS, WFO BY SEPARATE TELETYPE THIS DATE SET FORTH OBSERVATIONS REGARDING THE DESIRABILITY OF DIRECT CONTACT WITH FRIENDLY NEWS MEDIA CONTACTS FOR CONSIDERATION BY BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES.

BY SEPARATE COMMUNICATION WFO IS SETTING FORTH RECOMMENDATION TO INTERVIEW JOHN PONTURO, FORMER VIETNAM TASK FORCE STUDY MEMBER WHO REPORTEDLY PREPARED THE COMMAND AND CONTROL STUDY OF THE GULF OF TONKIN INCIDENT. PONTURO IS PRESENTLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSIS IN ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA. IT IS NOTED THAT J. FRED BUZHARDT, GENERAL COUNSEL PREVIOUSLY ADVISED THAT PONTURO'S HANDWRITTEN NOTES WERE FOUND IN THE SIMONS PAPERS AT RAND CORPORATION, SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA, AUG 12 1971 AND THAT THE QUOTE NEW YORK TIMES END QUOTE NEWSPAPER STATED THEY HAD A SUMMARY OF THE GULF OF TONKIN INCIDENT. HOWEVER,

END PAGE ONE

62AUG16 1971

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Felt
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Brennan CH
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dailey
Mr. Gale
Mr. Ponder
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walker
Mr. Sayre
Tele. Room
Miss Edwards
Miss Gandy

PAGE TWO

BUZHARDT WAS UNAWARE OF AND A REVIEW OF DOD FILE CONCERNING PONTURO FAILED TO REFLECT ANY INDICATIONS OF ASSOCIATION WITH ELLSBERG.

JUST PRIOR TO INITIATING CONTACT THIS DATE WITH JOHN STAHL, DOD TASK FORCE, PURSUANT TO BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS AUGUST FIVE LAST TO INTERVIEW TOM SCOVILLE FOLLOWING COORDINATION WITH DOD, STAHL IN TURN CONTACTED WFO. STAHL REFERRED TO INFORMATION REGARDING SCOVILLE IN WFO REPORT JUNE TWENTYEIGHT LAST AND ENQUIRED WHETHER FBI HAD ANY OBJECTION TO A DOD INTERVIEW OF SCOVILLE. STAHL WAS APPRISED OF THE FBI'S INTENTION TO INTERVIEW SCOVILLE FORTHWITH FOLLOWING COODINATION WITH STAHL REGARDING ANY REQUEST OF DOD REGARDING QUESTIONS DOD MIGHT DESIRE ASKED OF SCOVILLE. STAHL THEN ASKED IF THE FBI WOULD DEFER TO DOD REGARDING THIS INTERVIEW POINTING OUT THE DESIRE OF DEFENSE THAT SCOVILLE BE INTERVIEWED BY TWO DOD TASK FORCE MEMBERS THOROUGHLY CONVERSANT WITH THE CONTENTS OF THE VIETNAM TASK FORCE STUDY DOCUMENTS. STAHL ADVISED THAT DOD WAS DESIROUS OF GOING IN DEPTH WITH SCOVILLE REGARDING HIS DOD CLEARANCE ACCESS AND POSSIBLE USE OF VIETNAM STUDY DOCUMENTS, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY THAT SCOVILLE MIGHT HAVE DOCUMENTS WHICH DEFENSE MIGHT WISH TO CONFISCATE. STAHL OBSERVED THAT SCOVILLE IS

END PAGE TWO

1017
17

PAGE THREE

PRESENTLY EMPLOYED AS A HISTORIAN WITHIN THE DOD. STAHL SAID
DOD WOULD CERTAINLY FURNISH THE BUREAU RESULTS OF SUCH AA INTERVIEW
PROMPTLY UPON COMPLETION.

WFO IS HOLDING IN ABEYANCE AN INTERVIEW OF SCOVILLE PENDING:
BUREAU ADVICE CONCERNING DOD'S REQUEST THAT DOD BE AUTHORIZED TO
HANDLE THE INTERVIEW.

NEW YORK REPORT AUGUST THREE LAST CONTAINED A COPY OF AN
ARTICLE CAPTIONED QUOTE PENTAGON PAPERS: A HUSH DASH HUSH
PROJECT OF RECORD MAGNITUDE END QUOTE WHICH APPEARED IN QUOTE
TIMES TALK END QUOTE WHEREIN IT IS STATED THAT GERALD GOLD, AN
ASSISTANT FOREIGN EDITOR AND NEIL SHEEHAN, BOTH OF THE QUOTE
NEW YORK TIMES END QUOTE HAD REGISTERED FOR APPROXIMATELY TWO
WEEKS BEGINNING APRIL FIVE LAST AT THE JEFFERSON HOTEL IN WDC
DURING WHICH TIME THEY ASSEMBLED A LIBRARY OF BOOKS AND
PERIODICALS ON INDOCHINA AND THE VIETNAM WAR TO ASSIST THEM IN
PREPARATION OF THEIR DISCLOSURE STORY. WFO WILL CONTACT THE
JEFFERSON HOTEL FOR THE PURPOSE OF OBTAINING INFORMATION CONCERNING
THE REGISTRATION OF GOLD AND SHEEHAN, THEIR CONTACTS,
AND A RECORD OF THEIR TELEPHONE CALLS.

END

CORR. LINES TEN PAGE THREE WORDS SHOULD BE IT IS

JHV FBI WASH DC

c c - C. O. Brennen

1017

F B I

Date: 8/6/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (65-74060)

FROM: SAC, WFO (65-11613)

MC LEK
NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE

Re WFO teletype to Bureau 8/5/71 advising
WFO would furnish Bureau a copy of Air Force final
report on Rand Corporation Investigation.

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy of report
captioned "The Rand Case", classified "For Official Use
Only". Instant report was prepared for Defense Contract
Administration Services (DCAS) and furnished to WFO on
8/5/71 by J. FRED BUZHARDT, General Counsel, Department
of Defense.

ENCLOSURE

ST-110

(2) Bureau (Enc 1)
1-WFO

CAR:sas
(3)

REC-59 65-74060-1075

12 AUG 12 1971

17

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
Special Agent in Charge

REC-59 - 1075
(NI) 65-74060

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. D. J. Dalbey
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
BY COURIER

Date: August 11, 1971

1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
1 - Mr. J. R. Wagoner

To: Mr. J. Fred Buzhardt
General Counsel
Office of the Secretary of Defense
Room 3E980
The Pentagon
Washington, D. C.

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: DANIEL ELLSBERG
ESPIONAGE-X

This Bureau is in receipt of a copy of a briefing report captioned "The Rand Case" prepared by the Defense Contract Administration Services as furnished by you to Special Agents of the Washington Field Office of the FBI on August 5, 1971. Particular reference is made to information set forth in that briefing report appearing in the parenthetical statement at the bottom of page 4. The information indicates that the FBI did not furnish the Defense Industrial Security Clearance Office (DISCO) with information regarding this Bureau's 1970 investigation of Ellsberg, but "reportedly provided it to the OSI (AF), although the OSI has no record of receipt...."

The records of this Bureau reveal that letterhead memoranda dated at Los Angeles, California, in the investigation of Daniel Ellsberg were furnished to the Office of Special Investigations (OSI) on February 26, 1970, July 30, 1970, and September 25, 1970. Our files additionally reveal that OSI, on March 19, 1970, conducted discreet inquiries within the United States Air Force (USAF) based solely on the information originally furnished OSI by this Bureau. These inquiries related to the degree of security clearance held by Ellsberg and were related to USAF regulations requiring

P.D.C.
ENCLO. BEHIND FILE

1 - WFO
2 - Los Angeles (Enclosure)

ERH:jan

✓ (13)

5 AUG 16 1971

TELETYPE UNIT

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

W.H.H.

1075

Dr. J. Fred Buzhardt

uniformed personnel and civilian USAF employees to coordinate any contacts with Congressional representatives with the Legislative Liaison Office. This line of inquiry related to the receipt of information in 1970 that Ellsberg had originally reproduced classified information in his possession for the purpose of making it available to various Congressional leaders for their use.

NOTE FOR SAC'S WFO AND LOS ANGELES:

ReWFOairtel and enclosure dated 8/6/71.

A copy of the enclosure to referenced WFO communication is furnished herewith for information to Los Angeles. For information Los Angeles, the enclosed report was prepared for Defense Contract Administration Services (DCAS) and was furnished to WFO on 8/5/71 by J. Fred Buzhardt, General Counsel, Department of Defense.

NOTE:

See cover memorandum Wannall to Brennan dated 8/10/71 captioned "Mc Lek" prepared by ERH:jan.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

- TO: Mr. C. D. Brennan
- FROM: W. R. Wannall (S)
- SUBJECT: MC LEK
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. J.P. Mohr
1 - Mr. T.E. Bishop

DATE: 8/6/71

- 1 - Mr. D.J. Dalbey
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. W.R. Wannall
1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson
Felt
Sullivan
Mohr
DeLoach
Brennan, C.D.
Callahan
Pawley
Conrad
Dally
Gale
Ponder
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Sorenson
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

To summarize, for information, data received during the night from offices involved in our continuing investigation in the leak of classified information to "The New York Times."

Yesterday U.S. District Court Judge at Boston, Massachusetts, issued a warrant of removal calling for Ellsberg's appearance at U.S. District Court in Los Angeles 8/16/71 to answer the indictment previously issued. Ellsberg continues at liberty under the present \$50,000 bail without surety.

J. Fred Buzhardt, General Counsel, Department of Defense (DOD), furnished Agents of Washington Field Office with progress report on study being made by DOD of comparison of published portions of "McNamara Study" with Pentagon papers and related papers. Buzhardt indicated this study is now completed and finished results will be furnished Bureau after minor additional work by DOD and National Security Agency (NSA). Buzhardt advised that DOD has now identified all documents from which all newspaper articles concerning the "Pentagon papers" were copied. Buzhardt stated that DOD has made a decision to declassify anything necessary for prosecution in this case.

The NSA analysis mentioned above has pinned down that 75% to 80% of the material published in this matter was found in a two volume document known as the "Simons papers" but was not found in the 47 volume final draft or the 38 volume preliminary draft of the "McNamara Study." The Simons papers were held at the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica, California, for use by the author who took part in the Pentagon task force study on Vietnam. A detailed survey of top secret control records revealed yesterday that the Simons papers were in the possession of Daniel Ellsberg from 6/22/70 until 9/15/70. [REDACTED] Rand Corporation [REDACTED] to our Agents that Ellsberg had no respect for security regulations and disregarded them completely in some instances.

65-74060

: REC-106

12 AUG 12 1971

1032

ERH:dlw (8)

CONTINUED - OVER

17

50 AUG 16 1971

20 January 1972

Mr. John Martin
Department of Justice

Dear John:

Reference my previous note to you, and our recent conversations, regarding the relationship between latent print reports and documentary research in our effort to determine the source of the materials published by the Times, Beacon Press and other publications.

Without reiterating the details, I would once again point out that the latent reports received to date have little utility in documentary research. In brief, these reports do not give a page-by-page break down of prints, and they do not give a further break down as to the location and significance of the prints - either those identified or those that remain unidentified.

Further, I do not have a list of the persons, suspect or non-suspect, used in preparing these reports. It would seem basic to this operation to have an agreed-upon list of such names - particularly non-suspects in order to have some degree of assurance that unidentified prints are reduced to the absolute minimum, and that they are, indeed, unidentified.

From a documentary research point of view, the problem of source identification is basically one of attempting to establish a firm data base from which one can develop reasonable options or alternatives in regard to the source of the published materials.

At the present time I am confronted with a decidedly infirm base from which to work - with the result that the possible sources of the published materials are either too numerous or are ill-defined to merit further research. Adequate latent reports can contribute to a reduction in the degree of uncertainty. For example, we know that Beacon printed the texts of twenty-five narrative volumes, plus the Gurley Study, together with some 265 documents and 151 public statements drawn from the 47-volume set. However, present latent print reports indicate that only eight narrative volumes have significant prints, while the thirteen document volumes have none.

What is needed is a series of latent reports, prepared in simple columnar form, showing the following information:

- Column 1: Document Title/Identification
- " 2: Page number
- " 3: Suspect Identified prints (Name/number)
- " 4: Suspect Significant prints (1)

3004

ENCLOSURE

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- Column 5: Unidentified prints (2)
" 6: Significant unidentified prints (1)
" 7: Additional Remarks

Notes:

(1) An agreement is necessary as to what constitutes a "significant" print - in regard to both suspect and unidentified prints. For example, while I would like to know if there were suspect prints on a particular document to which the individual had recorded access, I would not consider any of them "significant" unless their position or other characteristics indicated that the document may have been reproduced.

(2) Those prints remaining after all suspect and non-suspect identified prints have been eliminated.

The above information is needed on the following materials:

- a. All volumes of the 38-volume set
- b. All volumes of the Rand-Santa Monica 47-volume set
- c. The Simons Notebooks
- d. All other miscellaneous papers retrieved from both Rand Washington and Rand Santa Monica.
- e. National Archives materials

The volume of the above materials makes the requested reports a considerable undertaking. Accordingly, I would like to know if the job can be done and, if so, the expected completion date.

cc: E. Carpenter
[Handwritten signature]

cc: F. H. Spikes

3004

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9:40 PM IMMEDIATE 8-5 71 ALM FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
TO DIRECTOR (65-74060) COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

AUG 5 1971 *Off*

ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

TELETYPE

BALTIMORE

BOSTON

LOS ANGELES

NEW YORK

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD (65-11613) *TP*

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Felt
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Brennan
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Daibney
Mr. Gale
Mr. Pender
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walter
Mr. Sayara
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

MC LEK, NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE DASH SUMMARY.

RE BUREAU TELETYPE AUGUST FOUR LAST IDENTIFYING NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHING MATERIAL RELATIVE TO THIS CASE AND SETTING FORTH DATA REQUIRED FOR INVESTIGATION IN LEK CASES. J. FRED BUZHARDT, GENERAL COUNSEL, DOD, WAS INTERVIEWED THIS DATE. BUZHARDT WAS ADVISED BUREAU WAS DESIROUS OF OBTAINING REQUIRED LEK CASE DATA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. BUZHARDT SAID DOD HAD BEEN WORKING ON THIS SINCE INITIAL STAGES OF INVESTIGATION OF QUOTE PENTAGON PAPERS END QUOTE AND AS SOON AS CORROLATION OF MATERIAL PUBLISHED BY THE NEWSPAPERS WITH THE QUOTE PENTAGON PAPERS END QUOTE AND RELATED DOCUMENTS IS COMPLETED, THE REQUIRED DATA RELATIVE TO LEK CASES WILL BE FURNISHED TO WFO.

REC-15

65-74060-1274

12 AUG 9 1971

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BUZHARDT ADVISED DOD HAS MADE A DECISION TO DECLASSIFY ANYTHING NECESSARY FOR PROSECUTION IN THIS CASE.

WITH REFERENCE TO DIRECTIONS IN REFERENCED TELETYPE THAT WFO OBTAIN COPIES OF ALL NEWSPAPER ARTICLES CONTAINING POSSIBLE END PAGE ONE "cc to *SW 15D*
ADM. DATA Selected"

jmf/s

WFO 65-11613

PAGE TWO

LEKS RELATIVE TO THIS CASE WHICH HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED BY
VARIOUS NEWSPAPERS, BUZHARDT ADVISED THESE NEWSPAPER ARTICLES
ARE NOW LOCATED AT THE NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY (NSA) WHERE
THEY ARE BEING STUDIED. HE SAID HE WOULD SEE TO IT THAT
COPIES OF THESE ARITCLES ARE OBTAINED AND FURNISHED EXPIDI-
TIOSLY TO WFO.

BUZHARDT SAID NSA COMPARISON OF DISCLOSURES IN QUOTE
NEW YORK TIMES END QUOTE, QUOTE BOSTON GLOBE END QUOTE,
AND QUOTE WASHINGTON POST END QUOTE NEWSPAPERS WITH THE
MC NAMARA TASK FORCE STUDY VOLUMES AND RELATED DOCUMENTS
HAS BEEN COMPLETED. RESULTS SHOULD HAVE BEEN IN HIS HANDS
TODAY. BUZHARDT SAID HE HAS SINCE LEARNED THAT SOME MINOR
ADDITIONAL WORK WAS NEEDED ON THESE COMPARISONS AND HE WILL
FURNISH WFO COPIES AS SOON AS HE RECEIVES THE RESULTS OF
THIS NSA STUDY.

IN CONNECTION WITH NEWSPAPER DISCLOSURES IN INSTANT
CASE, BUZHARDT ADVISED DOD HAS NOW IDENTIFIED ALL DOCUMENTS
FROM WHICH ALL NEWSPAPER ARTICLES CONCERNING THE QUOTE
PENTAGON PAPERS END QUOTE WERE COPIED. BUZHARDT FURNISHED A
COPY OF A FINAL AIR FORCE REPORT ON RAND CORPORATION SECURITY
END PAGE TWO

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16

PAGE THREE

PROCEDURES. HE SAID AIR FORCE IS IN THE PROCESS OF CONDUCTING FURTHER INSPECTION OF RAND SECURITY PROCEDURES AND BUZHARDT CONTEMPLATES PERSONALLY VISITING RAND CORPORATION, SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA WHEN THIS INVESTIGATION IS COMPLETED, BEFORE FINAL CONCLUSIONS ARE MADE CONCERNING THE RAND CORPORATION SITUATION.

CONCERNING ELLSBERG'S INDICATED TRAVEL FROM CALIFORNIA TO BOSTON DECEMBER TWENTYSEVEN DASH TWENTYNINE, NINETEEN SIXTYNINE TO ATTEND A PROFESSIONAL CONFERENCE AT THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE (AAAS), WFO OBTAINED THIS DATA FROM HEADQUARTERS OF AAAS ONE FIVE ONE FIVE MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W., WDC, IN A COPY OF THE PROGRAM OF THE ONE HUNDRED THIRTYSIXTH MEETING OF THE AAAS HELD AT BOSTON DECEMBER TWENTYSIX DASH THIRTYONE, NINETEEN SIXTYNINE. THE PROGRAM DOES NOT SET FORTH IN THE QUOTE INDEX OF PARTICIPANTS END QUOTE THE NAME OF DANIEL ELLSBERG. HOWEVER, IT DOES INCLUDE WILLIAM KAUFMAN OF THE MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY AND HENRY S. ROWEN OF THE RAND CORPORATION, CALIFORNIA AS PARTICIPANTS. KAUFMAN PARTICIPATED IN THE QUOTE AAAS COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE IN THE PROMOTION OF HUMAN WELFARE
END PAGE THREE

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16

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
1 - Mr. D. J. Dalbey
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
1 - Mr. J. R. Wagoner

August 2, 1971

LESLIE HOWARD GELB SUMMARY

No investigation has been conducted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning Leslie Howard Gelb.

The following information was obtained from the security file of Gelb as maintained at the Office of the General Counsel, Department of Defense (DOD), the Pentagon, Arlington, Virginia, on July 19, 1971:

Mr. Gelb was born April 3, 1937, at New Rochelle, New York, the son of Max Gelb and Dorothy Klein, who were both born in Czechoslovakia and are both citizens of the United States. Gelb is married to the former Judith Cohen. Gelb attended Tufts College, Medford, Massachusetts, from 1955 to 1959, receiving an A.B. degree, and Harvard University Graduate School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, from 1959 to 1964, receiving an M.A. degree on March 1, 1961, and a Ph.D. degree in June, 1964.

Gelb was a Teaching Fellow, in General Education and Government, at Harvard, from September, 1961, until June 30, 1964, and an Assistant Professor of Government at Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, from September, 1964, to January, 1966, when he took leave of absence to become Senatorial Assistant in the field of military and foreign affairs, on the staff of Senator Jacob K. Javits, New York.

The file shows that at the request of Senator Javits, Gelb was granted an interim "Top Secret" clearance on March 4, 1966, based on National Agency Checks. A full field investigation of Gelb was conducted by the DOD in June, 1966, which investigation developed no information reflecting on his character, reputation or loyalty. As a result of this investigation, Gelb was granted a "Top Secret" clearance on July 22, 1966. He was nominated for a "Top Secret" clearance for employment as a Foreign Affairs Officer, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, International Security Affairs (ISA), Policy Planning Staff, and was granted same on May 23, 1967, based on his previous clearance while employed by Senator Javits. Gelb was again nominated for a security

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(12) gmu

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SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

LESLIE HOWARD GELB

clearance as a Consultant, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, ISA, which was granted him on April 21, 1969, and which was terminated on June 30, 1969, since his appointment was not being renewed. He was subsequently granted a "Top Secret" clearance as a Consultant, Type A, by Defense Industrial Security Clearance Office (DISCO), Defense Supply Agency, based on the then current "Top Secret" clearance held by him as a Civil Service employee of the Office of the Secretary of Defense.

The file shows that on July 1, 1971, inquiries were made by the Defense Supply Agency of the Rand Corporation, at which time it was determined that since January, 1969, Gelb had been paid by Rand for only one period, April 21 - 25, 1969, for services as a consultant. It was further determined that Gelb's consultant status at Rand would be terminated within a few days, but the file does not show that this had been accomplished. According to the file, Galb still holds a "Top Secret" clearance.

Mr. Gelb has been interviewed on June 15, 16, 21, and 24, 1971; July 21 and July 26, 1971, by the FBI. The results of these interviews are set out hereinafter.

NOTE:

Original being sent to Mr. Egil Krogh at White House by cover letter. Xerox copies being sent to Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, and Assistant Attorney General - Internal Security Division by cover letter to the Attorney General.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription 6/17/71

Dr. LESLIE H. GELB, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WDC), furnished the following detailed information concerning his knowledge of the classified United States Department of Defense study of United States involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1967, together with his analysis, observations and conclusions concerning the disclosure of portions of this study in a series in "The New York Times" which began June 13, 1971.

HISTORY

Dr. GELB recalled that in approximately May, 1967, then Secretary of Defense, ROBERT MC NAMARA, decided that a Department of Defense study should be made of the history of United States involvement in Vietnam. On approximately June 1, 1967, Dr. GELB, who was engaged at the time as Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Policy Planning and Arms Control, was selected by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, JOHN MC NAUGHTON, to serve as director of a Vietnam task force to handle this study. The original study group consisted of six or seven Department of Defense personnel with the initial responsibility to answer approximately one hundred questions prepared by Assistant Secretary MC NAUGHTON and Colonel ROBERT CARD, Military Assistant to Secretary MC NAMARA. The original intention was to confine the study to access to personal files of Secretary MC NAMARA; however, as the study progressed, inquiries broadened to include requests for documents from the Central Intelligence Agency, the Historian's Office of the State Department, and various military offices within the Defense Department. Within six to eight weeks, several hundred additional questions and requirements to complete the study developed and it became apparent that the historical nature of the study would require considerable time and additional personnel to complete.

Interviewed on

6/15/71

Washington, D. C.

XFO 65-11613

SAB

Date dictated

6/16/71

882

As of the Fall of 1967, little progress had been made and Secretary MC NAMARA was advised by memorandum that an additional six-to-eight months would be necessary to complete the study. Personnel requirements continued to increase and at this time several non-Defense personnel were engaged to assist in the study. This procedure continued until approximately November, 1968, when the project was essentially completed and original working papers turned over to Generals ROBERT PURSLEY and ROBERT HIXON in the Office of the Secretary of Defense for re-production. GELB recalls that the completed study consisted of forty-two or forty-three volumes of about one hundred pages per volume and each volume captioned, "Vietnam Task Force," together with a sub-captioned reference to the specific subject matter contained in each volume.

All volumes were classified, "Top Secret - Sensitive," with the exception of 4-5 volumes which were unclassified. Ten or twelve volumes contained documents only.

PERSONNEL

Dr. GELB advised that the original task force staff included Defense military personnel; however, as the study broadened, non-Defense personnel associated with the Institute for Defense Analysis, the Rand Corporation, Hudson Institute, and various universities participated. The staff gradually increased to approximately thirty-six persons and, to the best of Dr. GELB's recollection, the following individuals were the principal participants:

Colonel PAUL GORMAN

Army officer attached to Defense Department's Office of International Security Affairs.

Major JOHN GALVIN

Army officer.

Colonel WILLIAM SIMONS

Air Force officer.

Air Force officer

Identity would be known to Colonel SIMONS.

ALVIN GUERTOV

Rand Corporation.

WFO 65-11613

3

ANDREW PIERRE

Hudson Institute, Tarrytown,
New York. Now with Council
of Foreign Relations in New
York City.

GUS SHUBERT

Rand Corporation.

Colonel ANDY SINKO

Army officer, since killed
in Vietnam.

Colonel JOHN SEIGLE

Army officer currently assigned
in Office of Deputy Chief of
Staff of Army.

Two West Point Army Majors

Could be identified by Colonel
SEIGLE.

HOWARD MARGOLIS

Institute for Defense Analysis.

DANIEL ELLSBERG

Formerly Rand Corporation and
now associated with Massachusetts
Institute of Technology.

Major MICHAEL GILLETTE

Former Army officer, now with
World Bank.

JOHN COURT

Former Defense official in
Systems Analysis, now on White
House staff of HENRY KISSINGER.

PHILLIP ODEEN

Currently assigned in office of
Deputy Assistant Secretary of
Defense for Systems Analysis.

RICHARD HOLBROOKS

Foreign Service officer currently
assigned as Director of Peace
Corps in Morocco.

JOHN PONTURO

Institute for Defense Analysis.

MARTIN BAILEY

Former Defense official currently
associated with University of
Rochester.

WFO 65-11613

FRANK (Last Name Unknown)

A Navy officer who would be known to MARTIN BAILEY.

(First Name Unknown)
JOHNSTONE

Formerly Institute for Defense Analysis and believed currently with Johns Hopkins University.

RICHARD BOLZHISER
(phonetic)

Formerly a White House fellow and now associated with University of Michigan.

HANS HETZEL

Rand Corporation.

RICHARD MOORSTREED

Rand Corporation.

WILLARD MITCHELL

Defense Office of International Security Affairs.

Major CHARLES COOK

Former Air Force officer, now a Special Assistant to MILITARY RICHARDSON.

Colonel DALE BRESSER

Army officer.

Colonel HERB SCHANDLER

Army officer.

RICHARD ULMAN

Former Defense official, now a professor at Princeton University.

ERNEST HAY

Professor at Harvard University.

MORTON HALPERIN

Former Defense official, now associated with Brookings Institution.

Captain GEAN FITZGERALD

Navy officer.

Dr. GELB said that he did not have a formal list of all persons who participated in the task force study and did not know of any office or official who would have one. He said that the only way to reconstruct such a list would be through interviews of some of those involved. Dr. GELB advised that he promised each staff member as they came to the staff that they could write anonymously to preclude their identification with any particular phase of the study and he would do what he could to protect their identities.

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SECURITY CONTROL DURING STUDY

Dr. GELB advised that at the outset of the study there was rigid control among staff members of the working documents but that, as the operation grew bigger, security became lax and "boggled the mind" and the ability to account for documents became impractical. Dr. GELB pointed out that all staff members were "senior" people who were well aware of security regulations and, as such, each had full access to staff documents and working papers. Dr. GELB said there was a rule against Xeroxing documents but felt that much Xeroxing by staff members was being done because of the practicality of this type of reproduction. He said that although he never had any reason to believe that any staff member was systematically reproducing documents, it would have been conceivable but not probable for a staff member to have reproduced the forty-two volumes before the study was completed. Dr. GELB is of the opinion that if a complete study had been reproduced it would more likely have been accomplished subsequent to the distribution of the final report.

Dr. GELB admitted that some staff members might have kept Xerox copies of their individual drafts. He doubted, however, that any systematic reproduction could have occurred without his knowledge, pointing out that all material was locked up at night and that any duplication would necessarily have been done during the day time.

REPRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Dr. GELB advised that the task force study was completed in approximately November, 1958, and that the original working papers and supporting documents were turned over to Generals ROBERT E. PURSLEY and ROBERT HIXON in the Office of the Secretary of Defense for reproduction. Also turned over to Generals PURSLEY and HIXON were reproductions of some of the volumes which were made for various reasons during the study. Dr. GELB said in some cases as many as five copies of specific volumes were made and estimated that approximately ten volumes had been reproduced in this manner. Dr. GELB said that Generals PURSLEY and HIXON would be the two principal persons with knowledge of the reproduction processes and that he, Dr. GELB, understood only that some of the documents had been retyped for the purpose of improving the reproduction quality.

Dr. GELB advised that he left the Defense Department in early 1959, whereupon he spent a short period at the Rand Corporation prior to assuming his present position at the Brookings Institution. Subsequent to his departure from the Pentagon, he was contacted in April, 1959, by Mr. PAUL WATKES, who succeeded Mrs. JOHNSON HAUGHTON as Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, for the purpose of developing a list of possible recipients of the final report. To the best of his recollection, Dr. GELB recalls that the following individuals and organizations were to receive copies.

ROBERT MCNAUL, former Secretary of Defense;
CLARK CLIFFORD, former Secretary of Defense;
PAUL HOFFZ, former Deputy Secretary of Defense;
NICHOLAS DE B KATZENBACH, former Under Secretary
of State; CYRUS VANCE, former Deputy Secretary of Defense,
may have received copy;
WILLIAM DUNNY, former Assistant Secretary of
State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs;
PAUL WATKES;
HORTON HALPERIN and LESLIE GELB to receive one
set for joint use;
Two copies to National Archives for subsequent
distribution to the Johnson and Kennedy
Libraries;
Remaining copies to be retained by Department
of Defense.

Dr. GELB said he had no knowledge of the disposition of the original working papers and copies turned over to Generals PURSLEY and NIXON or knowledge of the ultimate disposition and access to final reproduced sets with the exception of the set sent care of the Rand Corporation for himself and HORTON HALPERIN. GELB said that as strictly hearsay he heard that people in the State Department had been given access to one or both of the copies sent to KATZENBACH and DUNNY at the State Department. Regarding access, Dr. GELB said that the documents carried a top Defense Department classification of "Top Secret-Sensitive" and that although there were no additional caveats, it could only be assured that the documents would be maintained in the control of the persons so given charge.

Concerning the set sent to Rand Corporation, for himself and HALPERIN, Dr. GELB explained that by agree-

bent between PAUL WALTERS, HALPERIN and himself, the President of Rand Corporation, HENRY ROWEN, has authorized complete access to the entire set maintained at the Rand Corporation for security reasons. The same group authorized access to the set to two additional individuals, RICHARD MOORSTEEN and DANIEL ELLSBERG, both of whom worked on the task force staff and who were then full time employees of the Rand Corporation working in the area of Vietnam research. DANIEL ELLSBERG has since left the Rand Corporation and is currently associated with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Dr. GEIB added that he did retain possession of a reproduction of approximately fifteen volumes of the original working papers which he felt contained references material to which staff members might require access during the reproduction process. These reproductions are currently maintained with the full set at the Rand Corporation, Washington, D. C.

The only other access to which Dr. GEIB has personal knowledge was the release of the three volume study captioned "Military Pressures Against the North" to approximately 20-25 members of Rand Corporation personnel and other scholars who were in attendance at a one week conference on bureaucratic politics held at Santa Monica, California, in June, 1970. GEIB pointed out that this was a classified conference with strict security procedures and that the Rand Corporation could identify the individuals in attendance. GEIB said that no reproduction of these documents was authorized at the conference. He added that MORTON HALPERIN and himself made the selection of the document to be released to this group.

GEIB said that he had heard, as strictly hearsay, that possibly one or two other individuals associated with the Rand Corporation might have had access to the documents maintained at Rand but that he had no further details. He suggested that the Rand Corporation would have a record of any persons having such access. He said that he personally had reviewed or seen the documents on two occasions since he left the Pentagon, in each instance in the Rand Corporation.

ANALYSIS AND OBSERVATIONS

Dr. GELB recognized some of the material contained in "The New York Times" series to date as being classified material apparently taken from volumes of the task force study entitled "Military Pressures Against the North," "Marines Go Into Danang March, 1965," and "Forty-four Battalion Request". Dr. GELB said he had no personal knowledge of how "The New York Times" came into possession of this material but felt that DANIEL ELLSBERG was a logical suspect. He repeated that RICHARD MOORSTEEN and DANIEL ELLSBERG had been given authorized access to the full set of documents at the Rand Corporation; however, he had no specific knowledge of the security procedures involved in their access at the Rand Corporation. He emphasized that RICHARD MOORSTEEN was, in his mind, a reliable individual who was non-political in his ideology and incapable of a disclosure of the information in question. Dr. GELB said that he did not feel the same regarding ELLSBERG whom he characterized as a "sick man" who had become "radicalized" on the whole Vietnam war.

Dr. GELB went on to explain that shortly after ELLSBERG had been given access to the documents at the Rand Corporation in 1969 (after May but before Fall) he started to talk to various people about the potential release of information in the documents. ELLSBERG reportedly mentioned to ten or twelve people, including Dr. GELB, that he felt it important that the information be made public to let the people know what the war was all about. He became "very radicalized" on the matter. Dr. GELB said that ELLSBERG had also written a letter on the war on an unrecalled date to the editor of "The Washington Post" which criticized President NIXON on the war.

Dr. GELB said that ELLSBERG is very friendly with persons associated with the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington, D.C., which Institute he characterized as critical of United States foreign policy. He recalled that approximately one year ago a Mr. (first name unknown) STAVINS, who is on the staff of the Institute for Policy Studies, came to him for the purpose of interviewing him concerning United States - Vietnam policy. At this time STAVINS told him that IPS was doing a ten part history on Vietnam, pointing out "we have a lot of stuff". In the interview STAVINS also cited some things which in Dr. GELB's

opinion were classified and possibly related to the task force study. Dr. GELB seemed to recall that the IPS history was to have been completed about this time but stated that he never heard any more about it following the contact by STAVINS. He emphasized that he said nothing more to STAVINS other than to answer a few questions involving information in the public domain. Dr. GELB said that about three or four months ago the "Boston Globe" reported an interview with ELLSBERG wherein ELLSBERG was quoted as saying that only three people, whom ELLSBERG identified as GELB, HALPERIN and himself, had read the complete "secret" task force papers and went on to say that anyone who had read the documents would be against the war. GELB said the whole tenure of the article was to the effect that "if you know what we know, you would understand how we feel". The article was written by OLIPHANT.

GELB recalled that ELLSBERG also wrote an article for the "New York Review of Books" wherein he discussed war crimes trials and suggested that anyone involved in the Vietnam war should be prosecuted. Concerning ELLSBERG's war crimes trial philosophy, GELB said that he had been hearing reports for sometime that ELLSBERG had been advocating war trials of ROBERT MC NAMARA and others involved in Vietnam policy making, and that he would also put himself on trial for his own participation.

Dr. GELB recalled three additional incidents which he felt might be pertinent. He displayed a personal letter directed to him by Professor RICHARD H. ULIHAN of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, who added a penned postscript wherein he advised of being told by DICK FALK, a Professor at Princeton University, that a set of the task force papers seemed to be in circulation among the "New Left types-or that, at least, some materials gleaned from the Task Force seemed to be being leaked." Dr. GELB said that he immediately advised PAUL WARREN of this information and that it was agreed by them that he should advise MC NAMARA. Dr. GELB went to see MC NAMARA who was quite upset. It was decided that they should not go back to Professor ULIHAN for further information at that time.

A second incident involved an interview of former Secretary of Defense MC NAMARA in 1969 by a "New York Times"

reporter wherein Mr. MC NAMARA was quoted in the interview as saying that "he had commissioned a history of the Vietnam war". Dr. GELB said that he was surprised at the time that Mr. MC NAMARA would make such a public disclosure.

The third incident involved a question which appeared in the question and answer portion of "Parade" magazine which asked whether Mr. MC NAMARA had commissioned a study on Vietnam policy. The answer confirmed that MC NAMARA did commission such a study and identified Dr. GELB as the individual in charge of the study. Dr. GELB added that this question and answer column is reportedly written by LLOYD SHEARER under the pen name Sir Walter Scott, pointing out that SHEARER is reportedly a friend of ELLSBERG.

CONCLUSIONS OF DR. GELB

Dr. GELB volunteered his views that the release of the Vietnam Task Force papers could have been made for one of five possible reasons:

- (1) To assist the Nixon Administration. He personally rejected this reason.
- (2) To influence the vote on the McGovern-Hatfield Vietnam Amendment under consideration in Congress.
- (3) To "ruin" any future careers of those who participated in the Vietnam policy decisions, such as MC NAMARA and WILLIAM BUNDY.
- (4) To let the American people "know the truth."
- (5) To inspire war crimes trials of people responsible for Vietnam policy making.

Dr. GELB concluded he personally could not conceive of any rational reason for anyone to disclose this information and, in his judgment, it would take a "mad man" or "insane man" to do so. He repeated that, in his opinion, DANIEL ELLSBERG was the most logical suspect inasmuch as ELLSBERG necessarily had access to the documents and was capable of their disclosure in view of his condition and

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attitude concerning the Vietnam situation. Dr. OELB added that he personally was very disturbed over the unauthorized disclosure and that he desired to offer every assistance in this matter in an effort to identify the persons responsible.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

6/16/71

Dr. LESLIE H. GELB, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., (WDC), telephonically furnished the following additional information he believed pertinent in connection with his previous discussion with FEI representatives on June 15, 1971.

Dr. GELB advised that he recalled the circulation of rumors in recent months that the Vietnam Task Force study was being offered to various people on Capitol Hill and that one TOM HALSTED (phonetic) who works for a lobbying organization knows the identity of the person offering the documents. Dr. GELB said that one of the persons he may have heard the rumor from is MORTON HELPERIN, a former Defense Department official and Vietnam Task Force staff member who is currently associated with the Brookings Institution, WDC.

Dr. GELB also advised that he had been contacted on June 15, 1971, by NEIL SHEENAN of "The New York Times" who requested the names of individuals who worked on the Vietnam Task Force study. Dr. GELB said he refused SHEENAN's request.

Dr. GELB said that he had some discussion on June 16, 1971, with LARRY HENDERSON, Vice President of the Rand Corporation at the Pentagon and he was told by HENDERSON that Rand Corporation was charged with a blue bound set of the task force studies consisting of 38 volumes and marked copy one of five which had been sent to the Rand Corporation in January, 1969, by the Defense Department Office of International Security Affairs. Dr. GELB observed that this distribution apparently occurred prior to distribution of the sets of finally reproduced documents which he now

On 6/16/71 at Washington, D. C.

File # 65-11613

by

SA [redacted]

6/16/71

Date dictated

understands consisted of 47 volumes. Dr. GELB suggested the possibility that the blue bound documents sent to Rand in January, 1969, might be identical with some of the copies he turned over to Generals PURSLEY and RIXON with the original working papers. Dr. GELB pointed out that he understands the blue bound set sent to Rand is maintained with the full set subsequently sent Rand, care of MORTON HALPERIN and himself, and that the understanding between PAUL WARNEKE, HALPERIN and himself authorizing access to Mr. HENRY ROWE, RICHARD MOORSTEEN and DANIEL ELLSBERG would have covered both sets.

Dr. GELB also determined in connection with his previous comments concerning an interview of DANIEL ELLSBERG which appeared in the "Boston Globe" that the article was actually written by a reporter named THOMAS OLIPILANT and that it appeared in the March 7, 1971, edition of the "Boston Sunday Globe".

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1Date of transcription 6/24/71

Dr. LESLIE H. GELE, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C., telephonically furnished the following additional information believed pertinent in connection with his previous discussions with Federal Bureau of Investigation representatives on June 15 and 16, 1971.

[Large portion of the page is heavily redacted with black ink.]

Dr. GELE requested that in any contact with [redacted] nothing be said which might implicate him, GELE, as the source of the above information in view of a close association which he has had with [redacted] who has been connected with the [redacted]

Interviewed on 6/21/71 at Washington, D. C. File # LTO 65-11613
by SA [redacted] Date dictated 6/24/71

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

6/25/71

Date of transcription

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Dr. LESLIE H. GELB, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., telephonically furnished the following additional information he believed pertinent in connection with his previous discussions with FBI representatives:

Dr. GELB advised of having heard from associates at the Brookings Institution, Washington, D.C., that the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), was planning to publish a book on the Vietnam study documents. MARCUS RASKIN, an IPS official, already had some meetings with a New York City publisher. At one of the meetings with the publisher RASKIN reportedly showed the publisher the volume or volumes on which the book was to be published. Dr. GELB understands that the publication may already have reached the galley proof stage.

Interviewed on

6/24/71

Washington, D.C.

65-11613

by

SA [redacted]

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6/25/71

Date dictated

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of transcription

7/26/71

Dr. LESLIE H. GELB, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C., (WDC), was interviewed and furnished the following:

GELB stated that when initially contacted by the PEI on June 15, 1971, he was of the opinion that ELLSBERG was loan from Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, to the Pentagon, working on the Vietnam Study from about the Winter, 1967, to Summer, 1968. He stated, however, that upon further reflection, and as a result of a recent discussion with General ROBERT GARD, Department of Defense (DOD), he now, to the best of his recollection, believes ELLSBERG in fact served at the Pentagon from about the Fall, 1967, to early 1968. In this connection GARD recalled the North Vietnam "Tet" Offensive as occurring in February or March, 1968, and at about this time ELLSBERG having come back to WDC, to show people a paper he had written at Rand in which he attempted to demonstrate that the Saigon, South Vietnam regime had collapsed. GELB recalls further that ELLSBERG had left the Pentagon and returned to the Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, prior to the Tet Offensive and at that time was no longer involved with the Vietnam Task Force after he left the Pentagon.

GELB added that as of a matter of fact in probably February, 1968, he "called ELLSBERG in" while ELLSBERG was at the Pentagon and said, "Look, you've been here for some time, and haven't completed your study. I suggest you leave, and I'll get someone else to finish your study." GELB stated that ELLSEERG followed his suggestion, left the study, and returned to Rand Corporation in Santa Monica. According to GELB, HOWARD MARGOLIS, employed by the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA), completed the study that had been assigned to ELLSBERG.

GELB was specifically questioned regarding what appeared to be inconsistencies in statements he made regarding ELLSBERG in a 1968 DOD investigation, with statements attributed to him by General ROBERT GARD in the current investigation of ELLSBERG, to the effect that GELB, in early 1968, was concerned regarding ELLSBERG from a security standpoint during the time

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by SAs

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7/26/71

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that ELLSBERG was concerned with the Vietnam Study at the Pentagon.

It is noted that a DOD memorandum dated March 28, 1968, reported statements by RICHARD C. STEADMAN, then Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Internal Security Affairs (ISA), to the effect that DANIEL ELLSBERG might have been the source of information for "The New York Times" ("Times") article entitled, "U. S. Undervalued Enemy's Strength Before Offensive", which appeared in the March 19, 1968, edition. The same DOD memorandum reported that GELB had informed DOD investigators on March 26, 1968, that he very much doubted ELLSBERG was the source of information in the "Times" article.

Regarding the possible inconsistencies in statements made by GELB at about the same time, he stated that he was "very much surprised" that the DOD record of his statements indicate doubt as to ELLSBERG possibly being the source of the March 28, 1968, "Times" article.

GELB stated that in 1968 he did have trepidations concerning ELLSBERG and actually felt that ELLSBERG would be a good suspect for this 1968 leak to the "Times".

GELB elaborated on this statement repeating that it "surprises me that I said that." He explained this by stating that sometime toward the end of ELLSBERG's stay at the Pentagon, he had a conversation with General GARD in which he expressed concern about the fact that he considered ELLSBERG to be a "weak link" with regards to the security of the Vietnam Study. GELB stated that at that time, he asked General GARD to speak to ELLSBERG regarding the security of the project. GELB advised that he had forgotten the fact that he had spoken to General GARD about ELLSBERG in early 1968, until just recently when in a conversation with General GARD his recollection was refreshed concerning this conversation. GELB stated that he now recalls the conversation.

Concerning ELLSBERG's public release of the Vietnam Study to "The New York Times" (Times), newspaper, GELB commented that in his opinion ELLSBERG is an "independent actor". He stated that he believes that when ELLSBERG made up his mind to release the "Pentagon Papers" he did not require any encouragement from anyone else. GELB feels that ELLSBERG now thinks he has become the "man of the year; a sort of hero", and that ELLSBERG fully anticipated this.

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GELB stated that he is of the opinion that ELLSBERG was the initial source for all claimants now reported to have possession of the Vietnam Study.

GELB advised that after ELLSBERG left the Pentagon (early 1968), he returned to Rand and began work for Rand on an entirely different Vietnam study. ELLSBERG then, through HENRY S. ROWEN, President of Rand Corporation, requested access to the "McNamara Study" in possession of the Rand Corporation. At that time MORTON HALPERIN approached GELB and asked him about agreeing to allow ELLSBERG access to the Study. GELB told HALPERIN on this occasion that he would not agree to access by ELLSBERG, and HALPERIN so advised ROWEN. Still later, HALPERIN again raised the question of ELLSBERG being given access to the McNamara Study, and at that time GELB reluctantly gave his permission. GELB said that in giving his consent he explicitly stated that he was agreeing to ELLSBERG's access reluctantly because of his feeling about ELLSBERG's "stability".

When explaining what he meant by ELLSBERG's stability, GELB stated that he knew that ELLSBERG, while working on the McNamara Study at the Pentagon, had told people in WDC that he was in fact working on such a Study, at a time when the fact that such a Study was being made was sensitive information. GELB did not recall the identities of any of the individuals to whom ELLSBERG had disclosed the fact he was working on a "Vietnam Policy Study".

Concerning the decision to transfer the McNamara Study to the Rand Corporation, WDC, just prior to the change of the administration (December, 1968 - January, 1969, period), GELB advised that in January, 1969, when PAUL C. WARNKE made his decision to leave the Office of International Security Affairs (ISA), DOD, at which time GELB was also thinking of leaving DOD, there was some concern on the part of those who had assisted in preparing the Office of Secretary of Defense (OSD) Vietnam Task Force history of U. S. involvement in Vietnam that perhaps the entire Study might later be destroyed by DOD. They felt that at least one copy of the Study should be preserved. GELB said that as of January, 1969, all of the studies that made up the complete history of U. S. involvement in Vietnam were completed. However, at that time, many of the documents were being retyped under the direction of General ROBERT NIXON, DOD, preparatory to printing of the 47 volume Final Report. GELB stated that PAUL WARNKE discussed the matter with ROBERT S. MC NAMARA, and they decided that two things should be taken out of the Pentagon and stored at Rand, WDC, pending the retyping of documents and distribution of the final sets. He said that this would then assure that pertinent portions of this material would be at MC NAMARA's disposal.

One item decided upon to be taken to Rand, WDC, was a 38 volume "working set" of the McNamara Study. The second item was JOHN MC NAUGHTON's private papers, along with binders and notebooks of other individuals who had worked on the Study. GELB stated that this was the only material dispersed to the Rand Corporation in January, 1969.

GELB advised that he did not believe that CLARK CLIFFORD who had succeeded MC NAMARA as Secretary of Defense in 1968, was even consulted on this move of DOD material to Rand. GELB said that CLIFFORD did not want anything to do with the history of Vietnam, he not believing in history writing by DOD.

GELB stated that all of the above material was sent to the Rand Corporation, WDC, as "private papers", and that it was his understanding that the DOD contract with Rand had provisions for the storing and retaining of private papers, accounted for through the Rand system of accountability.

GELB could furnish no information concerning the private papers of PAUL WANNKE, and MORTON H. HALPERIN having later been taken from Rand and stored at the National Archives of the U. S. (Archives). He stated that he had no private papers at Archives.

Continuing his discussion of the movement of documents to the Rand Corporation, WDC, in January, 1969, GELB stated that it was not felt that the incoming administration would in any way misuse the McNamara Study, but that this step was taken merely to insure that the Study would remain in existence. GELB reiterated that the participants in the Study recognized the possibility that "someone on high" in DOD might at some later time, make a decision to destroy the entire Study. GELB emphatically repeated that there was no question of possible misuse by the incoming administration.

Concerning additional documents available to ELLSBERG at the Pentagon, GELB pointed out that during the 1964-1965 period, ELLSBERG was employed by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for ISA, DOD, at the Pentagon concerned with Vietnam affairs. GELB advised that during this 1964-1965 period ELLSBERG had a private safe somewhere in the Pentagon in which he stored documents, which safe was maintained for him at the Pentagon during the time ELLSBERG served with the U. S. Department of State (USDS), in Vietnam, 1965-1967.

GELB said that when ELLSBERG returned to the Pentagon in late Summer or Fall, 1967, he brought these documents to the Vietnam Task Force Study, and some of these documents, not otherwise available to the Task Force, were used in the Study. It is GELB's understanding that these documents, under ELLSBERG control, were later taken to Rand Corporation, WDC, by ELLSBERG and placed into the Rand accountability system.

GELB, during this interview, related back to information furnished FBI on June 15, 1971, concerning STAVINS (RALPH) of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), WDC, and stated that on further reflection he recalled that when STAVINS visited him approximately a year ago, STAVINS told him that he had interviewed a number of people concerning "Vietnam policy making". GELB stated that it was evident that STAVINS had some background knowledge of this matter, and that he asked a great number of questions to which GELB replied to STAVINS that he could not discuss because the information was classified. STAVINS at length, said, "Well, we have the stuff anyway." STAVINS then quoted to GELB from a March, 1969, memorandum of ROBERT S. MC NAMARA concerning U. S. policy making decisions on Vietnam. GELB, at this point, told STAVINS, "If you have stuff like that, you have no reason to talk to me," and then asked STAVINS to leave. GELB stated that sometime later, he went over to MC NAMARA's office and held a conversation with him during which he related what had occurred when STAVINS visited him. GELB stated that MC NAMARA's conclusion was that in the absence of further evidence, there was no need to do anything about it at that time.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Date 7/27/71

Dr. LESLIE H. GELE, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (WLC), telephonically furnished the following additional information he felt of possible significance in connection with his previous discussions with FBI representatives:

Dr. GELE advised that DANIEL ELLSBERG contacted him telephonically at his residence at approximately 7:00 p.m., July 24, 1971. ELLSBERG stated he was calling to advise Dr. GELE that he was publishing a book in the immediate future containing a compilation of his, ELLSBERG's, past "articles", and to determine whether Dr. GELE wanted his name mentioned in footnotes where ELLSBERG made reference to him or his work. ELLSBERG did not further identify his book or the publisher, but did indicate that it did not go into his "recent case", understood by Dr. GELE to pertain to ELLSBERG's disclosure of information concerning the Vietnam Task Force Study. Regarding footnotes, Dr. GELE told ELLSBERG that he would stand behind anything he, GELE, had written which would require footnoting.

Dr. GELE said that ELLSBERG was also desirous of learning how GELE and others felt about what he had done. Dr. GELE surmised that this may have been the real purpose of ELLSBERG's call. Dr. GELE told ELLSBERG that he had no intention of commenting on the views of others concerning ELLSBERG's actions since such individuals could speak for themselves. Concerning his own views, Dr. GELE told ELLSBERG that he did not agree with the reasons being given by ELLSBERG to justify what he had done.

On 7/26/71 at Washington, D.C. File # WFO 65-11613
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by Date dictated 15

Paul Culliton Warnke

Dr. Leslie H. Gelb, former Chairman, Vietnam Task Force Study, advised that in April, 1969, Mr. Paul Warnke, then Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, contacted him for the purpose of developing a list of possible recipients of the final report of the Vietnam Task Force. According to Dr. Gelb, two copies were to be delivered to the Rand Corporation, for use of Morton Halperin and Dr. Gelb. It was agreed by Mr. Warnke, Mr. Halperin and Dr. Gelb that in addition to Henry Rowen, President of the Rand Corporation, access to the set be given to Richard Moorsteen and Daniel Ellsberg, both of whom worked on the Task Force staff and who were then full-time employees of the Rand Corporation in the area of Vietnam research.

On July 16, 1971, Mr. Warnke was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning his knowledge of Daniel Ellsberg. Results of the interview are set forth hereinafter.

NOTE:

Original being sent to Mr. Egil Krogh at White House by cover letter. Xerox copies being sent to Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, and Assistant Attorney General - Internal Security Division by cover letter to the Attorney General.

7/16/71

Date dictated

FRANK C. WARNEKE of the law firm of COOPER, Warneke, Glass, Kullmann and Minney, 615 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. (DC) furnished the following information concerning the publicized United States (U.S.) Department of Defense (DoD) classified study of U.S. involvement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1967, commonly referred to as the "Pentagon Papers", and his knowledge as of 1967 of ELLSBERG publicly identifying the individual who furnished portions of this study to the "The New York Times" newspaper.

WARNEKE advised he became Assistant Secretary of Defense for Information Security Affairs, DIA, August 1, 1967, and was thereafter informed of the existence of the Vietnam Task Force study. He stated he had no responsibility for the study and his only connection with it was in regard to securing help for Dr. JAMES R. GIBB, Director of the study group. WARNEKE noted that his primary concern on completing GIBB from the study in order that he (GIBB) could return to his work for him.

WARNEKE recalled that DAVID ELLSBERG came to his office at the Pentagon on two occasions, once in February, 1968, and again in April, 1968, to discuss the situation in Vietnam. He commented that ELLSBERG, on the basis of these discussions, seemed disengaged & possibly somewhat apathetic to happenings in Vietnam, particularly in regard to the Tet Offensive, but as the basis of his recollection did not appear to question U.S. objectives. At the time, WARNEKE was not aware of ELLSBERG's connection with the task force study. WARNEKE remarked that there comprised the only extended conversations he had with ELLSBERG, except for one other occasion, date unrecalled, when ELLSBERG called him at the law firm from Santa Monica, California, at which time they again discussed Vietnam. He noted that ELLSBERG again expressed concern about the situation in Vietnam, but did not make any irrational statements concerning U.S. involvement there.

WARNEKE further recalled bumping into ELLSBERG once in late 1969, at the U.S. Senate Office Building in WDC, and encountered him on one or two additional occasions at the Council of Foreign Affairs in New York City.

Interviewed on

7/16/71

at

Washington, D.C.

File #

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JAN. 1972

Date dictated

7/16/71

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MMKE advised he has not read the Vietnam task force study, although a copy of the study, designated for former Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford, was physically delivered to him via which he in turn stored in a vault at the law firm. He noted that he left the DOD February 15, 1969, and came directly to the law firm, where he has remained continuously since with the exception of a brief period of service in 1969 as a consultant to the DOD.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 29 1971

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8:20 PM ~~IMMEDIATE 7-29-71 DLE~~

WPA
TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (65-74060)

ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

LOS ANGELES

BOSTON

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD (65-11163)

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Felt
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Brennan
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Dailey
Mr. Gale
Mr. Ponder
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Sojars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

MC LEX NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE DASH SUMMARY

PURSUANT TO BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS IN BUTEL SEVEN TWENTYTHREE LAST, WFO'S OUTSTANDING AND PROPOSED LEADS AS OF CLOSE OF BUSINESS THIS DATE ARE SET FORTH.

1. WILL FOLLOW AND REPORT FINAL RESULTS OF DOD EVALUATIONS IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

A. COMPARISON OF NEW YORK TIMES DISCLOSURES WITH VIETNAM TASK FORCE DOCUMENTS INCLUDING FINAL AND DRAFT SETS AS WELL AS NOTEBOOKS AND WORKING PAPERS.

B. COMPARISON OF FIVE XEROXED PAGES NUMBERED B DASH TWO SEVENTYNINE, B DASH TWO EIGHTY, B DASH TWO EIGHTYONE, B DASH TWO EIGHTYTHREE AND B DASH TWO EIGHTYFOUR RECOVERED FROM THE SEVENTH FLOOR PREMISES OF THE WASHINGTON POST NEWSPAPER, WASHINGTON, D.C., SIX THIRTY LAST.

C. COMPARISON OF ELLSBERG'S PAPER QUOTE ESCALATING IN A QUAGMIRE UNQUOTE WITH DOD DOCUMENTS TO DETERMINE WHETHER

END PAGE ONE

EX-105

REC-24

65-14060

CORR: THIS IS A FIVE PAGE IMMEDIATE

12 AUG 4 1971

51 AUG 4 1971

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gms

PAGE TWO

IT CONTAINS CLASSIFIED DOD INFORMATION.

D. DECISION REGARDING DECLASSIFICATION OF PERTINENT DOCUMENTS FOR PURPOSES OF PROSECUTION TOGETHER WITH IDENTITIES OF PERSONS TO TESTIFY.

2. WILL OBTAIN FINAL REPORT OF AIR FORCE SECURITY SURVEY OF RAND CORPORATION, SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA, AND WASHINGTON,

D.C.

3. WILL FOLLOW J. FRED BUZHARDT, DOD LEGAL COUNSEL FOR RESULTS OF HIS ADDITIONAL INQUIRIES CONCERNING NATIONAL SECURITY COUNSEL STUDY MEMORANDUM NUMBER ONE, COPY OF WHICH WAS REPORTEDLY GIVEN ^E BY ~~EE~~ ELLSBERG ^{TO} SENATOR CHARLES MATHIAS AND EXHIBITED BY MATHIAS TO BUZHARDT (RE WFO TEL SEVEN FIFTEEN LAST).

4. WILL REVIEW FILES OF FORMER VIETNAM TASK FORCE STUDY MEMBERS AS THEY ARE MADE AVAILABLE BY OSI TASK FORCE ASSIGNED TO THE DOD LEGAL COUNSEL'S OFFICE AND, UPON COMPLETION OF REVIEW AND IF NO REASON EXISTS TO PRECLUDE SAME, SET FORTH LEADS TO INTERVIEW INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED IN EFFORT TO DEVELOP INFORMATION PERTINENT TO THIS INVESTIGATION (RE BUREAU AIRTEL SEVEN TWELVE LAST AND WFO TEL SEVEN TWENTYSEVEN

END PAGE TWO

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PAGE TWO

PURPOSES IN THE EVENT OF PROSECUTION. DOD POINTED OUT THAT THE QUESTION OF DECLASSIFICATION WAS BEING HANDLED BY J. FRED BUZHARDT, DOD LEGAL COUNSEL, WHO IS ON VACATION AND EXPECTED QUESTION OF DECLASSIFICATION WILL LIKELY DEPEND UPON THE FINAL COMPARATIVE FINDINGS OF NSA.

REGARDING THE LOCATION OF FILES OF VIETNAM TASK FORCE MEMBERS, DOD ADVISED THAT THESE FILES ARE STILL IN THE PROCESS OF BEING LOCATED AT VARIOUS FACILITIES AND CALLED INTO WASHINGTON, D.C., AND SHOULD BE AVAILABLE IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS FOR REVIEW BY THE FBI. FOLLOWING REVIEW LEADS WILL BE SET FORTH IN ACCORDANCE WITH PREVIOUS INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING INTERVIEW OF THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED.

DOD ALSO ADVISED THAT THE FINAL AIR FORCE SECURITY SURVEY REPORT ON THE RAND CORPORATION IN CALIFORNIA AND WASHINGTON, D.C., WILL BE COMPLETED SOON AND A COPY PROMPTLY FURNISHED TO THE WFO UPON RECEIPT COPIES WILL BE FURNISHED BUREAU AND LOS ANGELES.

END PAGE TWO

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TELETYPE TO LOS ANGELES

RE: MC LEK

65-74060

LOS ANGELES SHOULD CAREFULLY REVIEW DETAILS SET FORTH IN APPLICATION FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT SUBMITTED BY ELLSBERG DATED AUGUST FOUR, SIXTY-FOUR, ENCLOSED WITH REFERENCED COMMUNICATION, FOR IDENTITIES OF INDIVIDUALS SUSCEPTIBLE TO INTERVIEW REGARDING ELLSBERG AS LEADS FOR OBTAINING ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION REGARDING HIS ACTIVITIES DURING PERTINENT PERIOD OF INSTANT INVESTIGATION. LEADS OBTAINED FROM SUCH A REVIEW SHOULD BE SET OUT BY TELETYPE WITH INSTRUCTIONS FOR IMMEDIATE INTERVIEW, SUBMISSION OF PERTINENT RESULTS TO BUREAU IN TELETYPE, AND IMMEDIATE SUBMISSION OF INVESTIGATIVE REPORT THEREAFTER.

NOTE:

A review of Department of Defense file on Ellsberg has uncovered some leads which have not been previously covered in this matter and instant communication is to alert Los Angeles to need for analysis of these data and to institute appropriate investigative action.

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DOB

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PERSONNEL SECURITY QUESTIONNAIRE		DATE 21 April 1958	Form Approved Budget Item No. 22-1048																																																
<p>INSTRUCTIONS: Five (5) copies of accomplished form will be submitted by the Contractor when investigation for clearance by a military department is required. TYPE OR PRINT ALL ANSWERS. If more space is required, attach additional sheet, identifying by corresponding block number. FORM WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED UNLESS COMPLETELY AND PROPERLY EXECUTED. Questions which do not apply will be marked "None".</p> <p>NOTE - PENALTY FOR MISSTATEMENT. Title 18 United States Code, 1001 makes it a criminal offense, punishable by a maximum of five years imprisonment, \$10,000 fine, or both, to make a false statement or representation to any Department or Agency of the United States or any matter within the jurisdiction of any Department or Agency of the United States. This includes any statement knowingly made by employee or individual herein which is found to be incorrect, incomplete or misleading in any important particular. Title 18 United States Code, 101 states that every falsely and wilfully represents himself to be a citizen of the United States shall be fined not more than \$2,000 or imprisoned not more than three years, or both.</p>																																																			
TO BE COMPLETED BY EMPLOYER																																																			
TO (Government contract supervisor) Chief Western Industrial Security Regional Office OIC, Air Research & Development Command 6331 Hollywood Blvd., Los Angeles 28, Calif.		NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER (If a subsidiary, include name of parent company) The RAND Corporation 1700 Main Street Santa Monica, California																																																	
JOB TITLE AND DESCRIPTION OF EMPLOYEE'S DUTIES Consultant-employee for Economics Division engaged in research on weapon systems. Subject will require access to classified defense information to the level of clearance requested in the regular performance of his duties.		CONTRACT NUMBER UNDER WHICH EMPLOYEE IS TO BE CLEARED AF 18(600)-1600																																																	
SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF MATERIALS OR INFORMATION EMPLOYEE WILL HAVE ACCESS TO SECRET																																																			
I CERTIFY THAT THE ENTRIES MADE BY ME ABOVE ARE TRUE, COMPLETE AND CORRECT TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF AND ARE MADE IN GOOD FAITH.		SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYER OR DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVE David E. Williams, Ago't Security Officer																																																	
TO BE COMPLETED BY EMPLOYEE																																																			
1. LAST NAME - FIRST NAME - MIDDLE NAME ELLISBERG, DANIEL (RMI)		2. ANY OTHER NAME BY WHICH KNOWN (Alles or initials) None																																																	
3. DATE OF BIRTH 7 April 1931		4. PLACE OF BIRTH Chicago, Illinois																																																	
5. MARITAL STATUS Married		6. SEX Male																																																	
7. RACE Caucasian		8. HEIGHT 5'10"																																																	
9. WEIGHT 165F		10. COLOR EYES Blue																																																	
11. COLOR HAIR Brown																																																			
12. EDUCATION (Account for all civilian schools) <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th colspan="2">YEARS (Include month if known)</th> <th colspan="2">NAME AND LOCATION OF SCHOOL</th> <th>GRADUATE</th> <th>DEGREE</th> </tr> <tr> <th>FROM</th> <th>TO</th> <th colspan="2"></th> <th>YES</th> <th>NO</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>Sep 37</td> <td>Jun 43</td> <td colspan="2">Barber School, Highland Park, Michigan</td> <td>X</td> <td>D.U.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sep 43</td> <td>Jun 48</td> <td colspan="2">Cranbrook School, Bloomfield Hills, Mich.</td> <td>X</td> <td>Diploma</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sep 48</td> <td>Jun 52</td> <td colspan="2">Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.</td> <td>X</td> <td>B.A.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sep 52</td> <td>Jun 53</td> <td colspan="2">Cambridge University, Cambridge, England</td> <td>X</td> <td>LL.D.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Sep 53</td> <td>Jun 54</td> <td colspan="2">Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.</td> <td>X</td> <td>M.A.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>Feb 57</td> <td>Present</td> <td colspan="2"></td> <td></td> <td>(Soc. Sci.)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>				YEARS (Include month if known)		NAME AND LOCATION OF SCHOOL		GRADUATE	DEGREE	FROM	TO			YES	NO	Sep 37	Jun 43	Barber School, Highland Park, Michigan		X	D.U.	Sep 43	Jun 48	Cranbrook School, Bloomfield Hills, Mich.		X	Diploma	Sep 48	Jun 52	Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.		X	B.A.	Sep 52	Jun 53	Cambridge University, Cambridge, England		X	LL.D.	Sep 53	Jun 54	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.		X	M.A.	Feb 57	Present				(Soc. Sci.)
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Sep 53	Jun 54	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.		X	M.A.																																														
Feb 57	Present				(Soc. Sci.)																																														
NATURALIZED CITIZEN ONLY. COMPLETE IS THROUGH 72.																																																			
13. FORMERLY CITIZEN OF WHAT COUNTRY DNA		14. DATE AND PLACE OF ENTRY INTO UNITED STATES DNA																																																	
15. CITY, COUNTY, AND STATE WHERE NATURALIZED DNA		16. COURT DNA																																																	
17. DATE DNA		18. FORMER ALIEN REG. NO. DNA																																																	
19. PARENT'S NAME DNA		20. CERTIFICATE NUMBER DNA																																																	
21. PLACE OF NATURALIZATION DNA		22. COURT DNA																																																	
23. DATE DNA		24. CERTIFICATE NUMBER DNA																																																	

DD FORM 1 MAR 60 48

REPLACES EDITION OF 1 APR 58 WHICH WILL BE USED UNTIL 1 APR 60. THIS EDITION IS VALID FROM 1 APR 60.

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MILITARY SERVICE				
COUNTRY	BRANCH OF SERVICE	SERVICE NUMBER	FROM (Date)	TO (Date)
U. S.	Marine Corps " "	065791 1401043	Jul 54 Apr 54	Feb 57 Jul 54
U. S.				
24. LOCAL DRAFT BOARD (UNITED STATES) AND ADDRESS		4. ORDER NO. E. CLASSIFICATION		
Eonorable	Local 95, Detroit, Mich., Wayne County	over age		
25. RESIDENCE (List all places of residence from 1 Jan 1937, starting with present) STREET, CITY, STATE, OR OTHER POLITICAL DIVISION AND COUNTRY				
1053 Concord Ave., Belmont, Mass.		FROM (Date)	TO (Date)	
1679 Massachusetts, Cambridge, Mass.		Jun 57	Present	
HQ 3108, Camp Lejeune, N. C.		Feb 57	Jun 57	
224 York St., Jacksonville, N. C.		Aug 56	Feb 57	
Camp Geiger Trailer Park, Jacksonville, N. C.		Jun 55	Jul 56	
Melrose Gardens, Melrose Ave., Triangle, Va.		Mar 55	May 55	
Ferlazzo Apts., Quantico, Va.		Sep 54	Feb 55	
4 Carver St., Cambridge, Mass.		Jun 54	Sep 54	
36 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass.		Sep 53	Jun 54	
White House, Trumpington Road, Cambridge, England		Jun 53	Sep 53	
16 Prescott St., Cambridge, Mass.		Jul 52	Jun 53	
Lowell House, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.		Feb 51	Jun 52	
110 E. Hancock St., Detroit, Mich.		Sep 49	Feb 51	
160 Winona St., Highland Park, Mich.		Sep 47	Sep 49	
1 Colorado St., Highland Park, Mich.		Sep 38 ?	Sep 47 -	
		Jan 37 ?	Sep 38 ?	

ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIP				
LIST ALL ORGANIZATIONS EXCEPT LABOR UNIONS AND EXCEPT ORGANIZATIONS LISTED ON DD FORM 487 IN WHICH YOU HOLD OR HAVE HELD MEMBERSHIP				
NAME AND ADDRESS	TYPE	OFFICE HELD	FROM (Date)	TO (Date)
Econometric Society New Haven, Conn.	Professional	None	1952	Present
Institute for Management Science White Plains, N. Y.	"	"	1957	"
Marine Corps Assoc. Assoc. of the U. S. Army	"	"	1954 1955	1956 1956

27. FOREIGN COUNTRIES VISITED OR RESIDED IN				
CITY AND COUNTRY	DATE LEFT U.S.	DATE RETURNED U.S.	PURPOSE	
Cambridge, England (France, Germany, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria, Holland, Belgium, Italy)	Jun '52	Jun '53	Education	
St. Thomas, Virgin Islands	Summer, Spring, Christmas vacations 1952-1953		Pleasure	
Morocco, Italy, Germany	Apr '55	May '55	Liberty (manned)	
Spain, Italy, France, Greece, Turkey, Sicily, Morocco	Feb '55	Mar '55	Pleasure (Leave, USAC)	
Mexico	Aug '56	Feb '57	Liberty on Medit. Cruise (with Sixth Fleet)	
Canada	Aug '57	Aug '57	Pleasure	
	Sep '57	Sep '57	en route to Mass.	

28. RELATIVES				
LIST PARENTS, SPOUSE, BROTHERS, AND SISTERS EVEN THOUGH DECEASED				
RELATION	NAME	ADDRESS (Enter "deceased" if no longer living)	PLACE & DATE OF BIRTH	PRESUMED CITIZENSHIP
Mother	Adele Charsky Ellsberg	deceased	Denver, Colo. about 1900	..
Father	Harry Ellsberg	10144 Vernon, New Haven Huntington Woods, Mich.	Wallingford, Conn. about 1889	(U.S.)
Wife	Carol Cummings Ellsberg	1053 Concord Ave., Belmont, Mass.	Washington, D.C. 1931	U.S.
Brother	Barry Ellsberg	251 W. 68th St., New York City	Chicago, Ill. June 1920	U.S.
Sister	Margaret Ellsberg Schiffman	185 E. 3d St., New York City	Chicago, Ill. 5 Aug 1918	U.S.
Sister	Gloria Feth Ellsberg	deceased	Chicago, Ill. 1932	(U.S.)

29. LIST OTHER LIVING RELATIVES AND RELATIVES OF SPOUSE RESIDING OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES				
	None			

30. EMPLOYMENT (Show every employment you have had since Jan 1937 and account for all periods of unemployment)				
POSITION HELD	EMPLOYER AND IMMEDIATE SUPERVISOR	ADDRESS	FROM (Date)	TO (Date)
Consultant employee	The RAND Corporation	1700 Main St. Santa Monica, Calif.	1 Apr 58	present
Junior Fellow	Society of Fellows	Harvard University Cambridge, Mass.	Feb 57	"
2d Lt., 1 Lt	U. S. Marine Corps	Washington, D. C.	Apr 54	Feb 57
Teaching Fellow	Harvard University	Arthur Smithies, Chairman Cambridge, Mass.	Sep 53	Apr 54
Education & Travel - See P. 14 and P. 27	- - - - -	- - - - -	Sep 50	Sep 53
Ranch hand	Clint Wallis	Bosler, Wyoming	Aug 50	Sep 50
Education	See P. 14 and P. 25	- - - - -	Sep 49	Aug 50
Pusch press Operator	Dodge Motor Corp. (none)	Hastrack, Mich.	Jun 49	Sep 49
All prior periods in school or on vacation	(see Education). Ref.			Barry Ellsberg, 10144
Warren, Huntington Woods, Mich.				

20. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED, CHARGED, OR HELD BY FEDERAL, STATE, OR OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES, FOR ANY VIOLATION OF ANY FEDERAL LAW, STATE LAW, COUNTY OR MUNICIPAL LAW, REGULATION OR ORDINANCE? INCLUDE ALL COURT MENTALS, WHILE IN MILITARY SERVICE. DO NOT INCLUDE ANYTHING THAT HAPPENED BEFORE YOUR 18TH BIRTHDAY. DO NOT INCLUDE THOSE VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH A FINE OF \$25.00 OR LESS WAS IMPOSED. ALL OTHER CHARGES MUST BE INCLUDED.

31. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED, CHARGED, OR HELD BY FEDERAL, STATE, OR OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT AUTHORITIES, FOR ANY VIOLATION OF ANY FEDERAL LAW, STATE LAW, COUNTY OR MUNICIPAL LAW, REGULATION OR ORDINANCE? INCLUDE ALL COURT MARTIALS, WHILE IN MILITARY SERVICE. DO NOT INCLUDE ANYTHING THAT HAPPENED BEFORE YOUR 16TH BIRTHDAY. DO NOT INCLUDE TRAFFIC VIOLATIONS FOR WHICH A FINE OF \$25.00 OR LESS WAS IMPOSED. ALL OTHER CHARGES MUST BE INCLUDED EVEN IF THEY WERE DISMISSED

YES NO If "YES", GIVE DATE AND PLACE, CHARGE, AND DISPOSITION

31. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN PREVIOUSLY GRANTED OR DENIED A SECURITY CLEARANCE BY THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY, NAVY, OR AIR FORCE, BY THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION OR OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCY?	GRANTED	DENIED
	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO
32. IF "YES", INDICATE WHEN GRANTED, WHERE, AND BY WHOM. IF DENIED, WHEN AND BY WHOM? 33. WHAT WAS THE LEVEL OF THE CLEARANCE?	<input type="checkbox"/> YES	<input type="checkbox"/> NO

1954-57, U.S.M.C., Quantico, Va.

Secret

34. REFERENCES (Give five personal references, stating business address of all references, if known. Do not include relatives, former employers, or persons living outside the United States.)

NAME	YEARS KNOWN	STREET AND NUMBER	CITY	STATE
John Kaplan	9	U.S.Attorney's Ofc	San Francisco	Calif.
Carl Kayser	6	Dept. of Econ. Harvard University Defense Policy	Cambridge	Mass.
Edward L. Katzenbach	1	Seminar, Harvard 2 Trurobridge Terrace	Cambridge	Mass.
William N. Simmons	9	Harvard Law School General Electric	Cambridge	Mass.
Martin Shubik	6	570 Lexington Ave	New York	N. Y.

35. LIST ALL FOREIGN CORPORATIONS OR OTHER BUSINESS ORGANIZATIONS IN WHICH YOU ARE AN OFFICER, DIRECTOR, OWNER, OR ACTS IN A REPRESENTATIVE CAPACITY. (If none, so indicate)

None

CERTIFICATION

I CERTIFY THAT THE ENTRIES MADE BY ME ABOVE ARE TRUE, COMPLETE, AND CORRECT TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF AND ARE MADE IN GOOD FAITH. I FURTHER CERTIFY THAT I AM A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

SIGNATURE OR MARK OF EMPLOYER

Daniel Ellsberg

SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

Jeremy R. Asrael

DD FORM 64

GPO 682763

CERTIFICATE OF NONAFFILIATION WITH CERTAIN ORGANIZATIONS

TYPE OF PRINT
ALL ANSWERS

Form approved.
FBI File No. 22-5111

PENALTY — Failure to answer all questions, or any misrepresentation for omission or concealment, or by misleading, false, or partial answers may serve as a basis for denial of clearance for access to classified Department of Defense information. In addition, Title 18, United States Code, 1001, makes it a criminal offense, punishable by a maximum of five (5) years' imprisonment, \$10,000 fine, or both, knowingly to make a false statement or representation to any Department or Agency of the United States, or to any matter within the jurisdiction of any Department or Agency of the United States. This includes any statement made herein which is knowingly incorrect, incomplete or misleading in any important particular.

DATE	NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER	
21 April 1958	The RAND Corporation 1700 Main Street, Santa Monica, California	
LAST NAME—FIRST NAME—MIDDLE NAME	ANY OTHER NAME BY WHICH KNOWN (Alias or member)	
ELLSBERG, DANIEL (DRG)	Noda	

PROVISIONS

The Department of Defense is responsible for assuring that contractor employees having access to classified Department of Defense information meet security standards. These standards include consideration of circumstances surrounding membership in, or association with, organizations identified below. Complete this form by placing your answer (Yes or No) after each question. If your answer to any question is "Yes," furnish full and complete information under "Remarks."

1. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of any of the organizations identified in paragraph I below? No
2. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of any of the organizations identified in paragraph II below? No
3. Are you now, or have you ever been, affiliated or associated with any of the organizations identified in paragraph I below? No
4. Are you now, or have you ever been, affiliated or associated with any of the organizations identified in paragraph II below? No
5. Are you now engaged, or have you engaged since 1947, in the sale, gift, or distribution of any written, printed, or other matter prepared, reproduced, or published by any of the organizations identified in paragraphs I and II below, or by any of their agents or instrumentalities? No
6. Have you ever submitted for publication material to the organizations identified in paragraphs I and II below, their agents, or instrumentalities? No

REMARKS (On the space provided below and attach additional sheets, if necessary, for a full detailed statement. If associated with any of the listed organizations, specify nature and extent of association with each, including dates, places, and credentials now or formerly held.)

Kono

CERTIFICATION

I CERTIFY THAT THE ENTRIES MADE BY ME ABOVE ARE TRUE, COMPLETE, AND CORRECT, TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF AND ARE MADE IN GOOD FAITH.

SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

Jeffrey J. Ayres

SIGNATURE OR MARK OF EMPLOYEE

Daniel Ellsberg

I. Membership, past or present, in any organization, association, movement, group, or combination of persons, (1) which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government, (2) or which had adopted a policy of advocating or approving the commission of acts of force or violence to deny other persons their rights under the Constitution of the United States, (3) or which seeks to alter the form of Government of the United States by unconstitutional means.

II. Organizations designated by the Attorney General, pursuant to Executive Order 10450, as having interests in conflict with those of the United States are listed below:

Communist Party, U. S. A., its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates.
Communist Political Association, its subdivisions, subsidiaries and affiliates, including—
Alabama People's Educational Association,
Florida Free and Educational League,
Arkansas League for Political Education,
People's Educational and Free Association of Texas,
Virginia League for People's Education,
Young Communist League,
Alabama Freedom Brigade,
Alabama People's Council, Chicago, Illinois,
Asian Committee to Free Spain Fund,
American Association for Reconstruction in Japan,
American Branch of the Federation of Greek Masses,
U.S. Union,
American Christian Nationalist Party,
American Committee for European Workers' Relief.

American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born,
American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Burdian, Inc.
American Committee for Spanish Freedom,
American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.
American Committee to Survey Labor Conditions in Europe,
American Council for a Democratic Europe, formerly known as the East American Council, Czech American Committee for National Unity,
American Council on Soviet Relations,
American Friends Service Committee,
American Jewish Committee,
American Jewish Aid Fund,
American League Against War and Fascism,
American League for Peace and Democracy,
American Lithuanian Workers' Library Association,
Asia-Burma, or American Burma-Burma-Borneo Economic Congress,
American National Labor Party,
American National Socialist League,
American National Socialist Party.

American Nationalist Party,
American Patriots, Inc.,
American Peace Crusade,
American Peace Mobilization,
American Price for Peace,
American Polish Labor Council,
American Polish League,
American Russian Missions (a project of the United American Russian Aid Committee),
American Russian Institute, Eastern New York (also known as the American Russian Institute for Cultural Exchange with the Soviet Union),
American Russian Institute, Philadelphia,
American Russian Institute of San Francisco,
American Russian Institute of Southern California, Los Angeles,
American Slavic Congress,
American Women for Peace,
American Youth Congress,
American Youth for Democracy.

INSTRUCTIONS — One copy of this certificate to be attached to each copy of FBI Form 20 or FBI Form 21 executed by the employee.

DD FORM 1 APR 55 48-1

PREVIOUS EDITIONS OF THIS FORM ARE OBSOLETE.

R. H. Knut

5-22-53

J. S. King, Jr.

4-27-53

RENEWED CONSULTING AGREEMENTS

M. Anderson, S. Eckels, C. Evans, D. A. Lederer, Jr., R. E. Yoder

We have received signed contracts from the following rev consultants for the periods indicated:

Name	Contract No.	Period of Performance	Division
Aronson, Gerald	53-416	3-21-53 to 9-30-53	Social Science
Berman, Edward B.	53-423	5-12-53 to 5-12-59	Cost Analysis
Brown, William M.	53-424	5-1-53 to 9-30-53	Economics
Ellisberg, Daniel	53-424	4-1-53 to 9-30-53	Economics
Ferguson, Allen R.	53-418	4-26-53 to 9-30-53	Logistics
Gore, Lynn A.	53-374	10-10-57 to 9-30-53	Physics
Hartnett, James P.	53-401	3-1-53 to 12-31-53	Engineering
Kirsch, Werner Z.	53-413	5-1-53 to 9-30-53	Logistics
Holton, Richard H.	53-422	6-1-53 to 9-30-53	Logistics
Long, Isabelle	53-405	5-1-53 to 9-30-53	Engineering
Lee, J. E. (Near Admiral, Ret.)	53-415	4-1-53 to 9-30-53	Logistics
Looper, Edward	53-406	6-1-53 to 9-30-53	Engineering
Heyer, John R.	53-411	5-1-53 to 9-30-53	Logistics
Pedersen, Donald B.	53-421	4-23-53 to 8-31-53	Logistics
Peter, Marc	53-419	4-14-53 to 9-30-53	Physics
Sekera, Zenon	53-417	4-1-53 to 9-30-53	Engineering
Selin, Ivan	53-420	6-1-53 to 9-30-53	Engineering

We also have received signed copies of amendments extending the period of performance for Robert I. Bernstein's contract to 30 September 1958; for A. R. L. Gurland's contract to 30 September 1958 and for Samuel Herrick's contract to 30 September 1958.

Alfred Leonis has signed copies of an amendment permitting him to perform work under RAID's ABC contracts as well as our Project RAID contract with the Air Force.

Albert S. Cain's consulting contract has been terminated on 15 April 1958 when he became a regular employee, and Frederick Perdee's contract was terminated on 15 December 1957, also because he became a regular employee.

Since Gary Becker, an Economics Division consultant, never signed his renewal contract starting 1 October 1957, he has been dropped from our consultant rolls.

mrs

J. S. King, Jr.

62

D. Blasberg

R. H. Post

11-10-58

J. S. King, Jr.

K-6587

RETURNED CONSULTING AGREEMENTS

H. Anderson, S. Echols, C. Evans, D. A. Lederer, Jr., and R. P. Yoder

We have received signed contracts from the following new consultants for the periods indicated:

Name	Contract No.	Period of Performance	Division
Fried, Herbert H.	59-362	10-20-58 to 9-30-59	Engineering
Geballe, Ronald	59-370	11- 1-58 to 12-31-58	Engineering
Goed, George F. Jr.	59-358	10- 1-58 to 9-30-59	Engineering
Hanover, Clinton D. Jr.	59-350	10-21-58 to 9-30-59	Engineering
Loftbeour, R. L.	59-371	11- 1-58 to 9-30-59	Engineering
Hendelsohn, Felix Jr.	59-361	10-20-58 to 9-30-59	Engineering
Hickey, N. Ray Jr. (General Analysis Corp.)	59-366	10-16-58 to 9-30-59	Mathematics
Stern, Edward A.	59-449	10- 1-58 to 9-30-59	Physics
Tompson, Arthur R.	59-353	11- 3-58 to 4-30-59	Engineering
Watson, Kenneth M.	59-460	9-15-58 to 9-30-59	Engineering

We have received signed contracts renewing services for the following consultants for the period 1 October 1958 through 30 September 1959 unless otherwise noted:

Allen, James	59-105	Critts, Stewart S.	59-255
Anderson, T. W.	59-248	Camp, Paul R.	59-189
Aronson, Gerald	59-109	Capron, William M.	59-134
Arrow, Kenneth J.	59-127	Chapman, Janet G.	59-105
Arrow, Selma S.	59-128	Chernat, Andrew F.	59-217
Attrechian, Max	59-201	Chodorow, Marvin	59-218
Bales, Robert F.	59-249	Christy, Robert F.	59-316
Ballard, Stanley S.	59-158	Ansley J. Coale	59-256
Barnett, Harold J.	59-129	Cohen, Edward	59-231
Bear, Donald V. T.	59-130	Cohen, Stanley	59-316
Beekmanbach, Edwin F.	59-250	Cole, Julian D.	59-350
Begle, Edward G.	59-251	Coles, Donald E.	59-219
Bergeson, Abram	59-131	Com, William W.	59-199
Berliant, Emanuel S.	59-101	Cooke, Kenneth L.	59-256
Bernstein, Jeremy	59-243	Corder, Herman O.	59-188
Birn, J. Brian	59-186	Darling, Donald A.	59-257
Blackwell, David	59-252	David, Marrietta M.	59-169
Bohmehjost, H. Frederic	59-253	Davidson, Norman R.	59-220
Bever, John L.	59-353	Despres, Faile	59-153
Bewee, Edward H.	59-202	Ferez, Gordon C.	59-221
Breckner, Norman V.	59-147	Dixon, Wilfrid	59-258
Brown, Harrison S.	59-271	Davis, Shirley D.	59-139
Brown, Milton M.	59-152	Dorfman, Robert	59-160
Buckley, Keith L.	59-324	Druckard, R. Norman	59-190
Buck, William E. Jr.	59-133		

Dobie, F. Gould	59-139	Gerry, John G.	59-172
Dobie, Thomas G.	59-140	Glazebrook, J. Am. L.	59-173
Doane, Warren W.	59-141	Gepor, Theodore H.	59-174
Dobrin, Otto	59-142	Givelman, Beriel	59-175
Dobson, James G.	59-143	Givelman, Margaret G.	59-176
Dobson, John	59-144	Kraupp, William J.	59-177
Dobson, John F.	59-145	Kropp, Elmer H.	59-178
Dobson, Merle	59-146	Koopman, William	59-179
Dobson, Ry	59-147	Kourouchos, Andreas	59-180
Dobson, Allen R.	59-148	Kroger, Sammeric	59-181
Dobson, Walter E.	59-149	Kueche, Arnold H.	59-182
Dobson, William J. R.	59-150	Lange, Isabelle	59-183
Dobson, Marvin	59-151	Lansell, Harold D.	59-184
Dobson, Charles L.	59-152	Lee, J. S.	59-185
Dobson, David	59-153	Lees, Lester	59-186
Dobson, Walter	59-154	Leopold, Edward F.	59-187
Dobson, Murray	59-155	Leonard, Maudly E.	59-188
Dobson, Alexander	59-156	Levina, Roger S.	59-189
Dobson, Gordon & Assoc.	59-157	Lefebvre, Marlee B.	59-190
(Patrick L. Sullivan)		Liu, Yu-Cheng	59-191
Dobson, Alfred E.	59-158	Lockhart, Robert C.	59-192
Dobson, Thomas K. Jr.	59-159	Lockley, Lawrence C.	59-193
Dobson, William T.	59-160	Lomax, Alfred L.	59-194
Dobson, Warren L.	59-161	Lofstad, Marvin J.	59-195
Dobson, Luis A.	59-162	Lowe, Edward T.	59-196
Dobson, Jessie L.	59-163	MacEachern, Max A.	59-197
Dobson, Phyllis H.	59-164	Menzel, Alvin G.	59-198
Dobson, David P.	59-165	Marcus, Sylvia R.	59-199
Dobson, Wright P.	59-166	Mengeman, Henry	59-200
Dobson, Robert J.	59-167	Marschall, Jacob	59-201
Dobson, Kenneth P.	59-168	Marsden, Michael	59-202
Dobson, Kenneth E.	59-169	Marshek, Robert E.	59-203
Dobson, Cecil Jr.	59-170	Mathews, Jon	59-204
Dobson, Wallace H.	59-171	May, Michael N.	59-205
Dobson, Carl C.	59-172	Mayer, Joseph E.	59-206
Dobson, Samuel	59-173	Mayer, Maria G.	59-207
Dobson, Warren W.	59-174	Molke, Richard G.	59-208
Dobson, Werner L.	59-175	Molnik, Constantine	59-209
Dobson, Albert O.	59-176	Morte, Pierre	59-210
Dobson, Jack	59-177	Moyer, John R.	59-211
Dobson, Richard H.	59-178	Middleton, David	59-212
Dobson, Alice L.	59-179	Milligan, Jerome W.	59-213
Dobson, William H.	59-180	Morse, Phillip M.	59-214
Dobson, Franklin C.	59-181	Mosely, Philip R.	59-215
Dobson, John A.	59-182	Mosellier, Frederick	59-216
Dobson, Neil H.	59-183	Moselowski, Steven A.	59-217
Dobson, Irving L.	59-184	Murray, Stuart S.	59-218
Dobson, Leo P.	59-185	Nagantau, Henry F.	59-219
Dobson, Abraham	59-186	Neasek, Nathan M.	59-220
Dobson, Samuel	59-187	O'Neill, Lawrence H.	59-221
Dobson, Carl	59-188	Osborn, Howard A.	59-222
		Panero, Guy B.	59-223

Daniel Ellsberg

831 Wellbury Avenue

Los Angeles 49

Address

113

Phone

4/7/31
Date1952 - 1954
Employment Dates & Industry/Trade/Ind. DateE 378
Ref. No.18 ECONOMIST M 385-30-9955
S 1950-1954 Civil Classification Tech. or Non-Tech. Sex Social Security18 Assoc. Economist \$1,000- 6/24/59 I \$10
S 1950-1954 Civil Classification Monthly Salary Effective Date: Position Division4 1 M ✓ ✓ ✓
New, None, FLSA: Marital Status Direct Deposit Yes Exempt Non-Exempt Resp.

Initial Certificate: Copy attached Will bring in ✓ (Packed in storage)

Declaration of Citizenship (If Applicable)

Personal Security Questionnaire

Fingerprint Cards

Penalty Acknowledgment

Patent Agreement

Civil Agreement

Worker's Compensation

Disability Insurance

Savings Bonds

A.T.T.

Credit Union

Emergency Notification

Travel Beneficiary (If Applicable)

Photo Appointment

I.D. Card

Parking Sticker

H-37 Signed

Fidelity Booklet

AISI Brochure

Welcome to DOD

Orientation Handbook

Source: Day/Book

Prayings: 5th and 20th

Wellington Seven

Check Dates: 5 days P/A (More may be approved)

Transition: 20 Days P/A; 40 Day Maximum

Stock Par

Incentives } If Employment

Leave } Contract Signed

Signed:

Yes

No

NO

Life Insur.

Burial Ins.

Res.-Life

TSA-CMR

3 yrs in Marines
Draft StatusFormer Contractor
Initial DOD ContactJohn Share
Signed In By

EMPLOYEE START OR CHANGE NOTICE

Date: June 25, 1959

TO: IBM, Chief of Police, Correspondence Control, Library, Publications, Security Office, Plant Engineer,
Credit Union, Washington. Helen Flynn

FROM: Personnel Office

Name: DOROTHY ELLEN FLYNN Formerly:

Starts: June 24, 1959 as o(n) Assoc. Economist

Change:

Terminates:

Man Number: E368 (Formerly Consultant) Formerly:

Location: 1 Santa Monica Formerly:

Division: 10 Economics Formerly:

Shift: 2 Formerly:

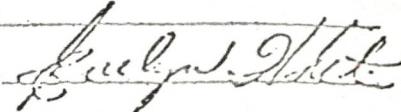
ELSA: Non Exempt Exempt: Formerly:Regular Employee Term Employee Daily Rate Formerly:Located at: Main Bldg. Other:

On Leave of Absence Starting _____ Ending Approx. _____

Personnel Manager

75 1/2/59

TERMINATION/LEAVE OF ABSENCE NOTICE

Date 10-6-64Authorized Signature Name Daniel EllsbergMon No. E3980Department Economics Department

TERMINATION

Termination Date 10-6-64 10-12-64Will Become Consultant: Yes No XTransferred to SDC Death
 Retirement Reason for Termination: Accept position with
Department of Defense
in Washington D.C.

Remarks:

Washington sign-out.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

Leave Starts Leave Ends Last Working Day On Vacation from

Reason for Leave:

Personnel Department

FOR PERSONNEL USE ONLY

Document Agreement sign Clear Out Form Potent Release sign Keys noTermination Benefits Aetna Retirement No TIAA-CREF Retirement NoForwarding Address 1400 S. Joyce St. Apt. B-408
Arlington, VirginiaFinal Check: Given Mailed fact 10-13-64Employee's Signature Washington sign-out.Personnel Office Bonnie McLaughlin001464
Security Team. } sent to Sec. 10-13-64
I.D.

Personnel Copy

REHIRE

MAN NUMBER

E3980

DAILY RATE

Name: Daniel Elling

Temp.

ADDRESS

17 Gilman

PHONE

DEPT	LOCATION	SHIFT	FLSA	SALARY/MONTH (ANNUAL - \$32,000)	START DATE
<u>11</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>9-28-67</u>	<u>7-28-67</u>	
<u>Married</u>		<u>4-7-31</u>		<u>385-30-9955</u>	<u>01</u>
MARRITAL STATUS		BIRTHDATE		SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER	EXEMPTIONS

DEGREES: BACH B.A.
YEAR RECEIVED 1952
SCHOOL Harvard

MASTERS M.A.
YEAR RECEIVED 1954
SCHOOL Harvard

PHD Ph.D.
YEAR RECEIVED 1962
SCHOOL Harvard

JOB CODE 140 JOB TITLE Committee

JOB CODE 18 JOB TITLE Committee

ALLOC. CODE P RESEARCH CODE R

A.F. CODE 1 UCR CODE 6

BIRTH CERTIFICATE:

ATTACHED

WILL BRING IN

DISCHARGE PAPERS:

ATTACHED

WILL BRING IN

MILITARY STATUS:

DRAFT CLASS.

(COUNTER-IN (OUT))
RESERVE STATUS

LANGUAGES:

FRENCH - FLUENT

Employee Signature

Personnel Signature

NAME, SOCIETY, OR ORGANISATION	STATION NUMBER	CODE N.R.O.N
TRANS. SOC.	£5980	R

EMPLOYEE NO.	CODE	LAST DATE	CHIEF
EMPLOYEE NO.	C		

CLASSIFICATION	NEW EMPLOYEE NAME	DEPARTMENT	LOCATION PLACE	SHIFT	USA STATUS	LESS THAN HALF-TIME		REGULAR OR TEMPORARY	START DATE
						S	I		
TAID 1	E D ELLISBERG	10				N	N	R	7 26 67
NEW, EXISTING, OR TRANS-	EMPLOYEE NUMBER	CODE IN, I, OR II	EMPLOYEE NO.	DATE CHANGED	CHANGED EMPLOYEE NO.				
FROM SSOC	£3980	R			(NAME CHANGE)				

40.0	100% CH ₃ COO ₂	100%
------	--	------

ESTATE OF

WICHARD'S

Distribution Security, Security Guards, MPS, Mail and Records, Library, Reports Distributions

PERSONNEL DEPARTMENT

62

TERMINATION/LEAVE OF ABSENCE NOTICE

Date 05/05/70 4-19-70Authorized Signature Loyd WhiteName D. ELLSBERGMan No. E3980Department Economics

TERMINATION

Termination Date 4-15-70Will Become Consultant: Yes No Transferred
to SDC

Death

Retirement

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

(For Leaves of three months or longer)

Leave Starts _____

Leave Ends _____

Last Working Day _____

Request check for accumulated vacation _____

Suspend vacation _____

Reason for Termination:

Has accepted position as Senior Research Associate, Center for International Studies, M.I.T.

Reason for Leave:

FOR PERSONNEL USE ONLY

Clear Out Form Patent Release Document Agreement TIAA-CREF Retirement opt 2

Aetna Retirement _____

Forwarding Address Chme

Final Check: Given _____

Mailed _____

Employee's Signature Daniel EllsbergPersonnel Office Margot Wolens

NEW START OR CHANGE NOTICE FORM

Daniel Ellsberg

4/22/70

Dottie Avakian for Bette Feckron, X713

Consultant

Current Date

Authorized Signature

Man Number E3980	Effective Date 04 16 70	Process Code 2C
------------------	-------------------------	-----------------

Man Number	A01	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Form. Empl. <i>✓-15-70</i> <input type="checkbox"/> Form. Cons.
Start Date	A72 04 16 70	
Soc Sec No	A02	
Name Print	A04	
Last	A05	
First	A06	
Middle	A07	
Prefix	A08	
Suffix	A09	
Mail Addr. Street	A62 Center for Int'l Studies	
Overflow	A63 Mass. Inst. of Tech.	
City	A64 Cambridge	
State	A65 Mass.	
Zip	A66 02138 <i>In Fall</i>	
Home Phone	A67	
Current Affiliation	A73 MIT	
Dept Acct	A13	
Personnel	A14	
Location	A15	
Sex Code	A55	
Birthdate	A57	
University Rank Code	A41	
Guaranteed Wage	A42	
Contract Number	A43 700910	
Expiration Date	A44 09 30 70	

Keypunch on Proc. Code

2C

Form. Empl. Only

Med H02	00000000
Bds H10	00000000
Ald H14	00000000
PSP H18	00000000
XFed B03	00000000

To be completed by Payroll

Marital Status (Tax)	B01
Federal Exemptions	B02
FICA Code	A24
UCD Code	A25
SUI Code	A26
State-City Code	A27
Federal WTAX Code	A71

CHECK SHEET FOR PROCESSING CONSULTANTS

Name Daniel Ellsberg

Department Economics

Address c/o Dept. of Economics, RAND Corp.

Telephone Number

Highest Academic Degree Ph.D. Date 1962 Current Affiliation RAND employee
University Harvard Field Economics

Source of Information PSA

Dept. Contact E.D. Brunner
Work Monitored by C. Wolf

Start Date 4/16/70 Expiration Date 9/30/70

Statement of Work Consult on problems of Southeast Asia

Clearance Required Has TSRD Needed By Facility Clearance
(May consultant perform unclassified work until receipt of clearance?)

Request for PSA initiated by department on 4/16/70 Received in Security 4/20/70

PSA sent out from Treasurer's Office Returned 4-22-70

Security Acknowledgements Sent out Returned

PSQ's and Fingerprint Cards sent out Returned

Consultant Certifications sent out Returned

Consultant Mailing Instructions sent

Summary of Clearances 4/23/70 Rolodex Cards: Blue 4/23/70 White 4/21/70

Facility Clearance File set up

Contract Terminated

Okay from department to send Termination Statements By

Termination Statements Sent Returned

Deleted from Summary Rolodex Cards pulled from Lobbies

Clearances cancelled

TERMINATION/LEAVE OF ABSENCE FORM

Date

10-9-70

Authorized Signature

Bette Peckron - X 7128

Name see attached
(Consultants)Man No. see attach.

Department

see attached

TERMINATION

Termination Date 09-30-70Will Discontinue Consultant? Yes No

Death

Last Working Day

Transferred
to SDC

Retirement

Request check for accumulated vacation

Suspend vacation

Reason for Termination:

Reason for Leaves:

Distribution: Security, Security Guards, MFS, Mail and Records, Library, Reports Distribution, Credit Union, Washington Payroll, Potlatch, Department DCC.

Form 326 (Rev. 10/67)

24

170

62

C2130	Carrier, J.M.	110
C2298	Carter, R.M.	190
C2705	Catton, I.	140
C3805	Chazen, L.	190
C5905	Cohen, D.	102
C6045	Cohen, S.J.	210
C6050	Cohen, S.T.	120
C7400	Corder, H.O.	110
C8340	Craig, L.J.	180
C9447	Currier, B.A.	110
C9462	Curtis, D.E.	150
D0455	Daly, J.P.	800 (became employee)
D1500	Dau, F.J.	150
D7300	Doyle, W.L.	130
D7420	Drebin, A.	110
D7560	Drezner, S.M.	102
D7810	Dubin, L.B.	180
D8410	Duggan, M.P.	102
E1103	Eckart, D.R.	180
E3980	Ellsberg, D.	120
E5400	Enos, J.L.	120
F1055	Farabaugh, R.V.	300
F2010	Feldman, N.E.	130 (became employee)
F3000	Fetter, R.B.	150
F3700	Finkle, I.L.	102
F4850	Fisk, D.M.	110
F5900	Flynn, H.R.	501
F8710	Ford, W.F.	120



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

WESTERN INDUSTRIAL SECURITY REGIONAL OFFICE
OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL
R RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT COMMAND
31 ELMWOOD BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES 28, CALIFORNIA

RAND-SM-REC'D

1958

JUL-5

PH 4:38

29 May 58

Mini Corporation
1700 Main St
Santa Monica, Calif.

ATTN: Security Officer

Cordially:

Reference is made to the Personnel Security Questionnaire submitted by your organization with respect to the following named United States citizens:

NAME	DATE OF BIRTH	CLASSIFICATION
Daniel ELLSEERG, NMN	7 Apr 31	**INTERIM SECRET**
LAST ITEM		

The consent of the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, by authority vested in the Secretary of the Air Force, is hereby granted for the above-named individuals to have access to classified information of the above-indicated or lower classification which is essential for the performance of his (their) duties in connection with Department of Defense classified contracts while continuously employed by your organization, and during any period of reemployment which commences within six months after the cessation of a prior period of employment, unless in any case otherwise revoked.

This consent will apply to the above-named individuals, whether or not transferred to another plant of your organization, subject however to prompt notification of such transfer being given to the Government security representative for such other plant.

If you should obtain any information indicating that your continued employment of the above-named individuals on classified work is or may be injurious to the best interests of the United States, you are required promptly to make a complete report to the appropriate Government security representative.

Reproduction of this letter in any form, except for the necessary records of your organization or unless requested by competent military authority, is not authorized. Copies of this letter must not be furnished to the above-named individuals for any purpose whatsoever.

Sincerely yours,

Stamp C-1 (Classification Letter)

Don D. Biddle (signature)
Director of the Secretariat of the Air Force
Western Industrial Security Regional Office

LETTER OF CONSENT FOR UNITED STATES CITIZENS

Enclosing No 15690

DD FORM 1 MAY 56 560

REPLACES EDITION OF 1 MAY 51
WHICH WILL BE USED.

3502

62



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
WESTERN INDUSTRIAL SECURITY REGIONAL OFFICE
OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL
AIR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT COMMAND
6301 HOLLYWOOD BOULEVARD
LOS ANGELES 28, CALIFORNIA

Rand Corporation

1700 Main St

Santa Monica, Calif.

JUL 28 1958

ATTN: Security Officer

Confidential

Reference is made to the Personnel Security Questionnaire submitted by your organization with respect to the following named United States citizens:

NAME
Daniel ELLSBERG (RSI)
LAST ITEM
CONSULTANT EMPLOYEE

DATE OF BIRTH
7 Apr 31

CLASSIFICATION
ASSOCIATE

1809 JUL 30 AM 10:33
RAND-S.M.-REC'D

The consent of the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, by authority vested in the Secretary of the Air Force, is hereby granted for the above-named individuals to have access to classified information of the above-indicated or lower classification which is essential for the performance of his (their) duties in connection with Department of Defense classified contracts while continuously employed by your organization, and during any period of reemployment which commences within six months after the cessation of a prior period of employment, unless in any case otherwise revoked.

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Reproduction of this letter in any form, except for the necessary records of your organization or unless requested by competent military authority, is not authorized. Copies of this letter must not be furnished to the above-named individuals for any purpose whatsoever.

Sincerely yours,

Donald M. Beck

Donald M. Beck

(Signature and title)

Don M. Beck, Chief Secretary of the Air Force
Western Industrial Security Regional Office
LETTER OF CONSENT FOR UNITED STATES CITIZENS

DD FORM 1 MAY 54 500

REPLACES EDITION OF 1 NOV 51
WHICH WILL BE USED.

20970

5

23

67



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE

WESTERN INDUSTRIAL SECURITY REGIONAL OFFICE
OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL
MISSILE & DEVELOPMENT COMMAND
MILITARY BASE NEAR REDWOOD
CITY, CALIFORNIA

RAND-S.M.R.

1959 JAN 30 P

Rand Corporation
1700 Main St
Santa Monica, Calif.

JAN 28 1959

ATTN: Security Officer

Gentlemen:

Reference is made to the Personnel Security Questionnaire submitted by your organization with respect to the following named United States citizens:

NAME	DATE OF BIRTH	CLASSIFICATION
Daniel (NIN) ELLSBERG LAST ITEM CONSULTANT EMPLOYEE	7 Apr 31	**TOP SECRET**

The consent of the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, by authority vested in the Secretary of the Air Force, is hereby granted for the above-named individuals to have access to classified information of the above-indicated or lower classification which is essential for the performance of his (their) duties in connection with Department of Defense classified contracts while continuously employed by your organization, and during any period of reemployment which commences within six months after the cessation of a prior period of employment, unless in any case otherwise revoked.

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Sincerely yours,

RECORDED NO. 32287

(Signature and Title)
Don D. Dickey, Director of the Western Industrial Security Regional Office

LETTER OF CONSENT FOR UNITED STATES CITIZENS

DD FORM 1 MAY 56 560

REPLACES EDITION OF 1 MAY 51
WHICH WILL BE USED.

311

62



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
SECURITY DIVISION
AMDC NATIONAL OFFICE
6331 Hollywood Blvd.
Hollywood 28, Calif.

Yard Corporation
1700 Main St
Santa Monica, Calif.

Security Officer

Gentlemen:

Reference is made to the Personnel Security Questionnaire submitted by your organization with respect to the following named United States citizens:

NAME
Daniel (MIN) ELLSBERG
LAST ITEM

DATE OF BIRTH
7 Apr 31

CLASSIFICATION
TOP SECRET

The consent of the Secretaries of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, by authority vested in the Secretary of the Air Force, is hereby granted for the above-named individuals to have access to classified information of the above-indicated or lower classification which is essential for the performance of his (their) duties in connection with Department of Defense classified contracts while continuously employed by your organization, and during any period of reemployment which commences within six months after the cessation of a prior period of employment, unless in any case otherwise revoked.

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Reproduction of this letter in any form, except for the necessary records of your organization or unless requested by competent military authority, is not authorized. Copies of this letter must not be furnished to the above-named individuals for any purpose whatsoever.

Sincerely yours,

William F. Jackson 2199d/7

WILLIAM F. JACKSON (Signature)
BANTHUS, ET ALMPF the Secretary of the Air Force

SECURITY BRIEFING AND TERMINATION STATEMENTS
(Industrial Personnel)

Section 1001 of Title 18, United States Code makes it a criminal offense, punishable by a maximum of five (5) years' imprisonment, \$10,000 fine, or both, knowingly and willfully to make a false statement or representation to any Department or Agency of the United States, as to any matter within the jurisdiction of any Department or Agency of the United States.

INSTRUCTION: This is a two part form. Part I shall be executed by an employee following his initial security briefing and prior to being granted access to classified defense information. Part II shall be executed by an employee during termination proceedings. The contractor shall retain the original signed copy of this form for a minimum of ten years following termination of employment. If the employee fails or refuses to sign this form, the contractor shall notify immediately his cognizant security office of this fact.

EMPLOYEE'S NAME (LAST, FIRST, MIDDLE)	NAME OF CONTRACTOR
ELLSBERG, DANIEL (NMN)	The RAND Corporation
PART I - INITIAL SECURITY BRIEFING STATEMENT	
DATE OF BRIEFING	TYPED NAME AND TITLE OF PERSON BRIEFING EMPLOYEE

I, the undersigned, hereby certify that I have received a security briefing. I understand fully the information presented during the briefing. I am aware that willful disclosure of classified defense information to any unauthorized person or persons may be punishable under Federal Criminal Statute. I realize that the safeguarding of classified defense information or material is of the utmost importance and that the loss or compromise of this information or material could be detrimental to the interests of national security. I have been instructed in the nature of classified defense information and the procedures governing its safeguarding. I understand that willful violation or disregard of security regulations may cause the loss of my access authorization (*security clearance*). I have read and am familiar with the provisions of the Espionage Laws and Federal Criminal Statutes applicable to the safeguarding of classified defense information or material.

TYPED NAME AND SIGNATURE OF WITNESS	DATE SIGNED	SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYEE
XXXXXX		

PART II - SECURITY TERMINATION STATEMENT

I, the undersigned, fully realize the importance to the national security of the requirement for the safeguarding of classified defense information. In the fulfillment of this obligation, I certify that:

1. I have read the appropriate provisions of the Espionage Laws and Federal Criminal Statutes applicable to the safeguarding of classified defense information or material.
2. I have surrendered and no longer have in my possession or custody any classified defense information or material.
3. I shall not communicate or transmit classified defense information, orally or in writing, to any unauthorized person or agency.
4. I shall report to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, without delay, any incident wherein an attempt is made by any unauthorized person to solicit classified defense information.
5. I have - have not (strike out inappropriate words) received an oral briefing. II

TYPED NAME AND SIGNATURE OF WITNESS	DATE SIGNED	SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYEE
A. E. ARCHER	Dec. 12, 1964	Daniel Ellsberg

II An oral briefing at the time of termination of employment is required when the individual has had access to defense information classified Top Secret, or to cryptographic or communication analysis information.

1. LAST NAME - FIRST NAME - MIDDLE NAME ELLSBERG, Daniel		2. HOME none	3. DATE 15 AUG 67
4. DATE OF BIRTH 7 APR 31	5. PLACE OF BIRTH Chicago, Ill	6. CITIZEN OF U.S.A.	7. CERTIFICATE NUMBER F104
8. SOCIAL SECURITY NO. 385 30 9955		9. DEGREE OF CLEARANCE SECURITY TOP SECRET	
		10. DODEP	<input type="checkbox"/> YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO

11. NAME AND ADDRESS OF CONTRACTOR
THE DOD CORP
1700 Main Street
Santa Monica, California 90406
ATTN: SECURITY SUPERVISOR

REBMMING RA 21869

Gentlemen:

"Reference is made to the request submitted by your organization for consent to grant the above named individual access to classified information. The consent of the Secretary of Defense and Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force is hereby granted for the above named individual to have access to classified defense information of the above indicated or lower classification which is essential for the performance of his/her duties in connection with over existing classified contracts, while continuously employed by your organization, and during any period of reemployment which commences within one month of the cessation of a prior period of employment, unless in any case otherwise suspended or revoked. This consent will apply to the above named individual whether or not transferred to another facility of your organization subject however to prompt notification of such transfer being given to DISCO. If you should obtain any information indicating that your continued employment of the above named individual on classified work is or may be detrimental to the best interests of the United States, you are required promptly to make a complete report to DISCO. Reproduction of this form in any manner, except for necessary records of your organization or unless requested by competent authority is not authorized. Copies of this form must not be furnished to the above named individual for any purpose whatsoever. This form shall be returned to DISCO upon death of employee."

ISSUED BY: Defense Industrial Security Clearance Office
Columbus, Ohio

22. SIGNATURE AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE

W. Davis

DSA FORM
JUL 65

560-R

REPLACES DD FORM 560 WHICH
MAY BE USED UNTIL EXHAUSTED.

LETTER OF CONSENT

**SECURITY BRIEFING AND TERMINATION STATEMENTS
(INDUSTRIAL PERSONNEL)**

Secton 1001 of Title 18, United States Code, makes it a criminal offense, punishable by a maximum of five (5) years imprisonment, \$10,000 fine, or both, knowingly and willfully to make a false statement or representation to any Department or Agency of the United States, as to any matter within the jurisdiction of any Department or Agency of the United States.

INSTRUCTION: Part I of this form shall be executed by an employee of a contractor following his initial security briefing, and prior to being permitted access to classified information. An employee who executes Part I of DSA Form 482 and who subsequently is absent from his place of employment, for any reason, in excess of six months, must re-execute Part I of DSA Form 482 before again being permitted access to classified information. Part II shall be executed by an employee at the time of termination of employment (discharge, resignation or retirement), at the beginning of a layoff or leave of absence for an indefinite period or for a period in excess of 6 months. In addition, Part II shall be executed by an employee upon reassignment from duties requiring access to TOP SECRET information to other information requiring a special access authorization by the Government. If the employee refuses to sign either part of this form, the contractor shall notify immediately his cognizant security office.

TYPED NAME OF EMPLOYEE (Last, First, Middle)

ELLSBERG, Daniel (NMN)

TYPED NAME OF CONTRACTOR

The RAND Corporation

PART I - INITIAL SECURITY BRIEFING STATEMENT

DATE OF BRIEFING

11 September 1967

TYPED NAME AND TITLE OF PERSON BRIEFING EMPLOYEE

John C. Mathews
Assistant Security Officer

I hereby certify that I have received a security briefing. I shall not knowingly and willfully communicate, deliver, or transmit, in any manner, classified information to an unauthorized person or agency. I am informed that such improper disclosure may be punishable under Federal criminal statutes. I have been instructed in the importance of classified information, and in the procedure governing its safeguarding. I am informed that willful violation or disregard of security regulations may cause the loss of my security clearance. I have read, or have had read to me, the portions of the Espionage Laws and other Federal criminal statutes relating to the safeguarding of classified information reproduced in Appendix VI, "Department of Defense Industrial Security Manual." I will report to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and to my employer, without delay, any incident which I believe to constitute an attempt to solicit classified information by an unauthorized person.

TYPED NAME AND SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

John C. Mathews
John C. Mathews

DATE SIGNED

9/11/67

SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYEE

Daniel Ellsberg

PART II - SECURITY TERMINATION STATEMENT

I certify that I have read, or have had read to me, the portions of the Espionage Laws and other Federal criminal statutes applicable to the safeguarding of classified information reproduced in Appendix VI, "Department of Defense Industrial Security Manual"; that I have surrendered all classified information in my custody; that I will not knowingly and willfully communicate, deliver or transmit, in any manner, classified information to an unauthorized person or agency; that I will report to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, without delay, any incident which I believe to constitute an attempt to solicit classified information by an unauthorized person; and that I (have) (have not) (strike out inappropriate word or words) also received a terminal, oral security briefing.

TYPED NAME AND SIGNATURE OF WITNESS

DATE SIGNED

SIGNATURE OF EMPLOYEE

DSA FORM
JUL 63 482

REPLACES DD FORM 1464 WHICH IS OBSOLETE

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1965 O-320-484

BUSHING, Daniel (DB)

1. LAST NAME - FIRST NAME - MIDDLE NAME

2. DATE OF BIRTH

3. PLACE OF BIRTH

4. DATE OF BIRTH

5. PLACE OF BIRTH

6. ANY OTHER NAME

7. CITIZEN OF

U.S.A.

8. SOCIAL SECURITY NO.

9. DEGREE OF CLEARANCE

10. DODPEP

335-30-9955

SECRET
TOP SECRET (CONSULTANT TYPE A)

29 APR 1970

DATE

11. CERTIFICATE NUMBER

YES NO

12. NAME AND
ADDRESS OF
CONTRACTOR

THE RAND CORPORATION
1700 Main Street
Santa Monica, California 90406

ATTN: SECURITY SUPERVISOR

107 MAY 1
MAIL & RECD

RECEIVED

Gentlemen:

"Reference is made to the request submitted by your organization for consent to grant the above named individual access to classified information. The consent of the Secretary of Defense and Secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force is hereby granted for the above named individual to have access to classified defense information of the above indicated or lower classification which is essential for the performance of his/her duties in connection with user agency classified contracts, while continuously employed by your organization, and during any period of reemployment which commences within six months after the cessation of a prior period of employment, unless in any case otherwise suspended or revoked. This consent will apply to the above named individual, whether or not transferred to another facility of your organization subject however to prompt notification of such transfer being given to DISCO. If you should obtain any information indicating that your continued employment of the above named individual on classified work is or may be imminent to the best interests of the United States, you are required promptly to make a complete report to DISCO. Reproduction of this form in any manner, except for necessary records of your organization or unless requested by competent authority is not authorized. Copies of this form must not be furnished to the above named individual for any purpose whatsoever. This form shall be returned to DISCO upon death of employee."

ISSUED BY: Defense Industrial Security Clearance Office
Columbus, Ohio

22. SIGNATURE OF AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE

William R. Campbell

LETTER OF CONSENT

Enclosed with incoming May 16, 1970

DSA FORM

JUL 65

560-R

REPLACES DD FORM 360 WHICH
MAY BE USED UNTIL EXHAUSTED

111

62

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR 029 WF CODE

6:35PM IMMEDIATE 7-22-71 GEA

JUL 22 1971

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE

BOSTON

LOS ANGELES

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD (65-11613) 28

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Freeman	C
Mr. Callahan	PK
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Pender	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

MC LEK - NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE - SUMMARY.

NEW YORK OFFICE HAS BEEN FURNISHED BY AIRTEL THIS DATE PERTINENT BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING INTERVIEW OF RICHARD C. STEADMAN, FORMER DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE (DOD), WHO CURRENTLY RESIDES IN NEW YORK CITY. STEADMAN WAS CONSIDERED SUSPECT IN NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT DOD DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION TO NEIL SHEEHAN OF THE "NEW YORK TIMES," AND IN CONNECTION WITH A RELATED LEAK TO SHEEHAN, STEADMAN IDENTIFIED ELLSBERG AS POSSIBLE SUSPECT.

OSI TASK FORCE ASSIGNED TO DOD ADVISED THIS DATE THAT PERSONNEL AND SECURITY FILES OF TASK FORCE MEMBERS ARE BEING CALLED INTO DOD HEADQUARTERS ON EXPEDITE BASIS. REC 17-65-74060-742 SHOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR REVIEW BY FBI JULY TWENTY SIX NEXT. IMMEDIATELY UPON REVIEW, APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS WILL BE ISSUED BY JUL 29 1971 FOR INTERVIEW OF THESE INDIVIDUALS.

END PAGE ONE

97 AUG 4 1971

MR

JK

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUL 2 1971

SNR010 WF CODE

9:03PM IMMEDIATE 7-21-71 GEA TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (65-74050) (ATTEN DID)

LOS ANGELES

BOSTON

NEW YORK

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD (6511613) &

REC'D
initials

W. J. Campbell

Mr. Tolson
Mr. Felt
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Brennan
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Daley
Mr. Gale
Mr. Ponder
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Tele. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

MC LEX DASH NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE DASH SUMMARY.

DE

DOCTOR LESLIE GELB, FORMER VIETNAM TASK FORCE STUDY CHAIRMAN, REINTERVIEWED THIS DATE AND COMPLETE DETAILS WILL BE FURNISHED BY SEPARATE COMMUNICATION. PURSUANT TO BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS, GELB WAS SPECIFICALLY QUESTIONED REGARDING WHAT APPEARED TO BE INCONSISTANCIES IN STATEMENTS HE MADE REGARDING ELLSBERG IN A SIXTYEIGHT DOD INVESTIGATION WITH STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO HIM BY GENERAL ROBERT GARD, FORMER MILITARY ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, IN THE CURRENT INVESTIGATION

TO THE EFFECT THAT GELB WAS CONCERNED EXCLUDING ELLSBERG FROM A SECURITY STANDPOINT DURING THE VIETNAM STUDY. IT IS RECALLED

THAT THE RESULTS OF DOD INVESTIGATION MADE AVAILABLE TO WFO CONTAINED A DOD MEMORANDUM DATED MARCH TWENTYEIGHT SIXTYEIGHT

REPORTING STATEMENTS BY RICHARD C. STEADMAN, THEN DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE FOR EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS, INTERNAL SECURITY AFFAIRS, THAT DANIEL ELLSBERG

END PAGE ONE

P. J. Steadman

62JUL30 1971 150

ADM RELEASER

691

12

WFO 65-11613

PAGE TWO

HAY HAVE BEEN THE SOURCE OF INFORMATION FOR A "NEW YORK TIMES" ARTICLE "U.S. UNDERVALUED ENEMY'S STRENGTH BEFORE OFFENSE" WHICH APPEARED IN THE MARCH NINETEEN, SIXTYEIGHT EDITION. THE SAME DOD MEMORANDUM REPORTED THAT LESLIE GELB HAD INFORMED DOD INVESTIGATORS ON MARCH TWENTYSIX SIXTYEIGHT THAT HE VERY MUCH DOUBTED ELLSBERG WAS THE SOURCE OF INFORMATION IN THE "NEW YORK TIMES" ARTICLE. REGARDING THE POSSIBLE INCONSISTANCIES IN HIS STATEMENTS WHICH RELATE TO APPROXIMATELY THE SAME PERIOD, GELB STATED THAT HE WAS "VERY MUCH SURPRISED" THAT THE DOD RECORD OF HIS STATEMENTS WOULD INDICATE DOUBT AS TO ELLSBERG: BEING POSSIBLE SOURCE OF MARCH TWENTYEIGHT "NEW YORK TIMES" ARTICLE AS ELLSBERG WOULD HAVE DEFINITELY BEEN A SUSPECT IN HIS, GELB'S OWN MIND.

IN FURTHER RESPONSE TO BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS IN CONNECTION WITH THE DOD INVESTIGATION, IT WAS DETERMINED THROUGH DOCTOR GELB THIS DATE THAT RICHARD C. STEADMAN, DESCRIBED ABOVE, WAS CURRENTLY EMPLOYED BY THE J.H. WHITNEY COMPANY, AN INVESTMENT HOUSE, LOCATED AT SIX THREE ZERO FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK, ONE ZERO ZERO TWO ZERO, TELEPHONE TWO ONE TWO DASH SEVEN FIVE SEVEN DASH ZERO FIVE ZERO ZERO. IT IS RECALLED
END PAGE TWO

691

12

WFO 665-11613

PAGE THREE

THAT DOD INVESTIGATION CONSIDERED STEADMAN AS A SUSPECT IN
CONNECTION WITH AN ARTICLE WRITTEN BY ~~HEIL SHEEHAN~~ WHICH D.S.
APPEARED IN THE "NEW YORK TIMES" ON MARCH TEN SIXTYEIGHT AND
DEALT WITH THE VIETNAM SITUATION. IN ACCORDANCE WITH BUREAU
INSTRUCTIONS, NEW YORK OFFICE WILL BE FURNISHED PERTINENT Begin Apr 1968
BACKGROUND AND APPROPRIATE INSTRUCTIONS REGARDING INTERVIEW OF
RICHARD STEADMAN IN A SEPARATE COMMUNICATION. (Terry Falk Lindsh

RELOS ANGELES REQUEST TO FULLY IDENTIFY TERRY LINDSHER MASS.
WHO WAS DESCRIBED [REDACTED] AS ELLSBERG'S ATTORNEY P.C.
FROM WDC AND SUBSEQUENT INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM NEW YORK OFFICE
JULY TWENTY LAST REPORTING INFORMATION FROM [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
WHO REQUESTED HIS IDENTITY BE PROTECTED, THAT TERRY LENZER MASS.
AN ATTORNEY NOW IN PRIVATE PRACTICE IN WDC HAS BECOME INVOLVED
WITH THE DEFENSE OF ELLSBERG THROUGH ONE OF HIS FORMER HARVARD
LAW PROFESSORS, CHARLES R. NESSON. MASS.

WFO FILES DISCLOSE RECEIPT OF INFORMATION FROM
PHILADELPHIA OFFICE APRIL SEVENTEEN LAST IN THE "EASTCON"
CASE BUFILE ONE HUNDRED DASH FOUR SIX ZERO FOUR NINE FIVE)
END PAGE THREE

691
12

691

Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Dalbey

The Attorney General

July 22, 1971

Director, FBI

Mr. Brennan
Mr. Wannall
Mr. Wagoner
[redacted]

DANIEL ELLSBERG
ESPIONAGE - X

By letter dated July 9, 1971, Mr. Robert C. Mardian was advised that a transcript of a recording made by Mr. J. Fred Buzhardt, General Counsel, Department of Defense, which Mr. Mardian had previously furnished, had been reviewed and that we were pursuing investigative leads obtained as a result of the review. It was noted that Mr. Buzhardt indicated certain information regarding a Vietnamese named "Truc" had been provided by Mr. Charles W. Cooke, when he was connected with the Department of State, to Daniel Ellsberg. He also said that two articles appeared in "The New York Times" in 1970 under the by-line of Neil Sheehan relating to this Vietnamese. It was further reported that information appearing in the files of the Security Office, Department of State, indicated Mr. Cooke had, in fact, furnished information to Ellsberg concerning a Vietnamese named Tran Ngoc Chau under instructions of Mr. Elliot L. Richardson, who was then Undersecretary of State and who now serves as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare.

On July 21, 1971, Agents of our Washington Field Office contacted Mr. Cooke, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, to make an appointment for an interview with regard to the foregoing allegations. Mr. Cooke stated he had been working closely with Deputy Attorney General Richard G. Kleindienst in connection with this matter and did not feel he should be interviewed by the FBI without Mr. Kleindienst's clearance.

RECORDED BY EX-10T REC 1765-74060-636

This will confirm information furnished by Mr. James C. McGrath, Special Assistant to the Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division, on July 21, 1971 to Mr. W. R. Wannall of this Bureau.

18 JUL 23 1971

Mr. McGrath stated that in view of the indications of the possible involvement of Secretary Richardson in the foregoing matter, Mr. Kleindienst and Mr. Mardian on July 16, 1971, talked with Secretary Richardson, who said that he trusted Mr. Cooke completely and would agree to an interview

WRW:ams (1,1,1)

97JUL28 1971

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

F B I

Date:

7/19/71

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (65-74060)

ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE
DIVISION

FROM: SAC, WFO (65-11613)

REC-31

MC LEK
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

Reference Bureau airtel, dated 7/12/71, and WFO teletype, dated 7/15/71.

Referenced Bureau airtel, above, furnished to WFO a copy of transcription of recording made by J. FRED BUZHARDT, General Counsel, Department of Defense (DOD), on 7/2/71, and requested WFO to contact BUZHARDT and W. DONALD STEWART, Chief, Investigations Branch, Defense Investigative Program Office, DOD, to inform them there had been no misinterpretation on the part of the Bureau with regard to DOD material referred to in DOD memorandum to the Department dated 7/6/71 from STEWART, DOD. WFO was further requested to seek clarification of a number of items in BUZHARDT's transcription.

On 7/14/71 STEWART was interviewed by SAs [REDACTED] and the Bureau's instructions carried out. STEWART had no additional data in the possession of his office concerning association between ELLSBERG and SHEEHAN or any factual information which would show ELLSBERG was source of SHEEHAN or had access to information SHEEHAN used in articles as concluded by BUZHARDT.

STEWART advised ELLSBERG's DOD personnel files was now in BUZHARDT's office.

- (2) - Bureau
2 - Los Angeles (105-27952) (RM) (AM)
1 - WFO

REC-31

ST-118

5 JUL 21 1971

TAM:cmr
(5)

630

Approved: _____

Sent: _____ M Per: _____

59 JUL 22 1971 (al Agent in Charge)

On 7/15/71 J. FRED BUZHARDT was interviewed by SAs [redacted] and the Bureau's instructions were carried out.

During the interview with BUZHARDT, he was asked to clarify items one through five as set out in referenced Bureau let, and the following information was obtained from him:

Item one.

According to BUZHARDT, after the "Times'" disclosures, beginning 6/13/71, General PURSLEY called MC NAMARA to discuss the matter, at which time MC NAMARA told PURSLEY that he had only intended that the documents relating to U.S. involvement in Vietnam, be accumulated for later historical use. BUZHARDT stated that he did not know who then made the decision to write the history of the Vietnam War earlier than MC NAMARA had intended. BUZHARDT could shed no further light on the purpose for writing this history during the 1967-1968 period.

Item two.

Concerning the statement that CIA was wary of the history writing operation, and furnished very few documents, BUZHARDT stated that he desired not to disclose his source for this statement. He requested that his word be taken that this statement was factually true. He stated that this was told to him in confidence, and that there were no supporting documents confirming this fact.

In explanation of the above statement, BUZHARDT added that the Office of International Security Affairs (ISA), DOD, was a very controversial section of DOD, during this period (1967-1968), which was "common knowledge," in DOD. He stated that officials in the U.S. Department of State (USDS) felt that ISA was attempting to take over the USDS function, and further that at the time there were rumors that the White House did not trust ISA. BUZHARDT informed that one WILLIAM KAUFMAN, an ISA employee during the pertinent period, "quit the project cold," complaining that the Vietnam history was being badly distorted, and he refused to be a part of it. BUZHARDT stated that he believed that KAUFMAN was either at the Rand Corporation, or was writing on his own.

Item three.

BUZHARDT stated that ELLSBERG was quoted in the newspapers as having stated that he did not give the last four volumes of the Vietnam Study to the news media, but had given a "full" set to Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT. BUZHARDT added that he

thinks, however, that ELLSBERG "lied" on this point, because it is BUZHARDT's belief that ELLSBERG did not have actual custody of the 47 volumes in 1969. BUZHARDT feels that ELLSBERG gave FULBRIGHT the 18 volumes of which ELLSBERG did have custody. To further substantiate his theory on what ELLSBERG furnished FULBRIGHT in 1969, BUZHARDT pointed out that in FULBRIGHT's first letter of November, 1969, to DOD, FULBRIGHT asked for an 18 volume set of the Vietnam history. Therefore, BUZHARDT concluded that ELLSBERG had furnished FULBRIGHT the 18 volume set of documents in October or November, 1969.

Item 4.

Concerning the handwritten notes of JOHN PONTURA, author of the Command and Control, Tonkin Gulf study, BUZHARDT advised that among the so-called "SIMON's Papers," picked up by DOD from the Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California, were handwritten notes of JOHN PONTURA. He stated that this material was in one of the black notebooks retrieved from Rand, and related to the Tonkin Gulf incident. BUZHARDT stated that he does not have all of the answers yet on the Rand control of these items, but is presently "digging deeper into this matter."

BUZHARDT recalled that the "Times" stated they had a "summary" of the Tonkin Gulf study, and BUZHARDT advised that several documents in the Rand collection referred to the Tonkin Gulf incident. BUZHARDT went on to state that since he dictated this material for the Department, he has "really had to back up." He stated that he is now inclined to think that the Tonkin Gulf study may well have been carried out by ELLSBERG. BUZHARDT pointed out that a writer by the name of (FNU) AUSTIN is reportedly putting out a book about the Tonkin Gulf incident, to be published by the "Times." in August, 1971, or at least in the near future. According to BUZHARDT, AUSTIN brought the manuscript of his book to Doctor EUGENE FUBINI, formerly Deputy Director of Research and Engineering, DOD, whose duties included supervision of the National Security Agency (NSA). FUBINI, who has possession of the manuscript for a time, discussed its contents with officials at NSA. BUZHARDT is presently attempting to secure the manuscript of this book by AUSTIN, prior to publication, to see if it indicates access was had to the Command and Control study of the Tonkin Gulf incident, authored by PONTURA. BUZHARDT advised that PONTURA is presently employed at the Institute of Defense Analysis (Federal Contract Research Center) in Arlington, Virginia. He reiterated that PONTURA had written the Command and Control Tonkin Gulf study for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and pointed out that PONTURA had also worked on the MC NAMARA study.

BUZHARDT stated that he expects to have the DOD complete inspection report concerning documents maintained by Rand, Santa Monica, on 7/19/71. He mentioned that he has reason to believe that ELLSBERG had a set of notebooks of his own at Rand, and in any event DOD has not yet located all of the material published in the "Times." BUZHARDT estimated that ten per cent of the material published by the "Times" is not contained in the MC NAMARA study, or in any of the material recovered from the Rand Corporation. He stated that this conclusion has just been reached by DOD on this date (7/14/71), and that DOD is still working on this problem. He stated that DOD is currently trying to figure out where this unaccounted for portion of material published by the "Times" came from, and ELLSBERG's means of access to it.

Again talking about the Command and Control, Tonkin Gulf Study, BUZHARDT stated that originally more than one hundred copies of this study were in existence, and as far as is known all but four copies of it have been destroyed. He pointed out that three copies of this study was sent to the "Hill," and that probably only one copy remains at the Pentagon. He said, however, that from nine to eleven copies of the study could not actually be accounted for by DOD.

BUZHARDT stated that it appears that MC NAMARA may have caused to be made an investigation into the Tonkin Gulf incident, apart from the Command and Control Study, and that MC NAMARA may have been furnished a copy of this second study, without it having come under any DOD accountability control. BUZHARDT stated that he does not actually know if such a "summary" (second study) was written, but suggested the possibility, stating that he was trying to run this down.

BUZHARDT stated that the previously mentioned PONTURA's notes were not a "summary," but expressed the opinion that if there is in existence a summary, titled as such, which has the authenticity of being contemporary, there must have been in existence a summary which MC NAMARA received directly from the originating group. BUZHARDT stated that he has reason to believe that JACK STEMPLER, General Counsel of the U.S. Air Force headed such a group.

BUZHARDT feels certain that the MC NAMARA Study Group had access to the Command and Control Study of the Tonkin Gulf Incident, noting that a copy of this Study was for a time maintained in the Office of ISA. BUZHARDT stated this Study would have been available to ELLSBERG while he was at the Pentagon during the 1967-1968 period of his employment at the Pentagon.

BUZHARDT further pointed out that ELLSBERG has claimed in the "press" that he gave a copy of the Command and Control Study to Senator FULBRIGHT. BUZHARDT further stated that he has every reason to believe that ELLSBERG also gave a copy of this study to AUSTIN, referred to above. BUZHARDT added that as far as sensational news value was concerned, the Command and Control Study, was "a lot more political than the whole 47 volume Final Report of the Vietnam Task Force."

BUZHARDT stated that it is pure assumption on his part, but he is of the opinion that ELLSBERG made an agreement with the "Times," that the "Times" was not to publish the Command and Control Study, but was to allow AUSTIN to first publish it in his book, in which the "Times" had an interest, perhaps intending later running articles in the paper concerning the book, after it was released.

BUZHARDT stated that MADISON MITCHELL, a current employee of NSA knows AUSTIN.

BUZHARDT advised that he knows of no association between ELLSBERG and PONTURA.

Item five.

Regarding NEIL SHEEHAN having authored a series of eight articles in 1968, and that it has now been concluded that ELLSBERG had access to all of the data SHEEHAN used in the articles, BUZHARDT stated that this was not his own conclusion, but said that he had gotten this conclusion orally from W. DONALD STEWART. He stated that after he obtained the DOD file on these matters from STEWART, he found no such conclusion therein.

BUZHARDT stated that he went behind the DOD file that STEWART furnished him, and located the documents on which these investigations were based, and found that the Vietnam Task Force, had used these same documents in preparing the MC NAMARA Study. He stated that the 1967-1968 Vietnam Task Force on Vietnam had copied excerpts from these highly sensitive documents, going back to the early 1960's. He stated that among this material were references to NEIL SHEEHAN and his various newspaper columns which even at that time included security leaks to him. In other words, ELLSBERG, according to BUZHARDT, was working with material at the Pentagon in 1967-1968, which noted that SHEEHAN was publishing information that had been leaked to him. BUZHARDT advised that portions of this material was actually bracketed in red, for inclusion in the MC NAMARA Study.

WFO 65-11613

Concerning BUZHARDT's statement on 7/2/71 that a current investigation by the State Department related to ELLSBERG, BUZHARDT stated that W. DON STEWART had orally told him this. He stated that STEWART had "garbled" information which STEWART was in the DOD investigative file. He stated that STEWART had briefed him orally and told him a lot more than was in the file. BUZHARDT said that STEWART had told him that the State Department file on this matter contained a statement from a man named COOKE, to the effect that he had allowed ELLSBERG to look at material at the State Department.

BUZHARDT said he would furnish WFO a copy of ELLSBERG's DOD personnel file.

WFO is closely following with BUZHARDT for results of DOD inquiries relating to the MC NAMARA Study disclosures. It is noted that DOD's final evaluation of the "New York times" disclosures with all MC NAMARA Study documents should be completed and available to WFO in a few days.

Concerning the (FNU) AUSTIN who is reported to be writing a book about the Tonkin Gulf incident to be published by the "New York times," WFO will not conduct any independent investigation at this time to identify AUSTIN but will closely follow BUZHARDT for results of his current inquiries to identify AUSTIN and determine if the anticipated book is based on classified information.

Interviews of JOHN PONTURA and WILLIAM KAUFMAN, former Vietnam Task Force Study members mentioned by BUZHARDT, will be considered in connection with current efforts being coordinated with OSI, DOD, to identify, review security files and consider interviews of Vietnam Task Force members.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Felt _____
Mr. Sullivan _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Bishop _____
Mr. Branigan CDO
Mr. Callahan _____
Mr. Casper _____
Mr. Conrad _____
Mr. Delaney _____
Mr. Cole _____
Mr. Fender _____
Mr. Green _____
Mr. Tavel _____
Mr. Walters _____
Mr. Sayers _____
Tele. Room _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

MR 009 WF CODE

8:00 PM IMMEDIATE 7-20-71 DLE JUL 20 1971 4724

TO DIRECTOR (65-74864) TELETYPE
ATTN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION
BOSTON
LOS ANGELES
FROM WASHINGTON FIELD (65-11613) SIX PAGES

MC LEK; NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE DASH SUMMARY.

ON INSTANT DATE, WFO AGENTS ATTEND A BRIEFING CONCERNING INQUIRY CONDUCTED BY AIR FORCE TO DETERMINE INDUSTRIAL SECURITY PROCEDURES AT RAND CORPORATION, SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA, AND WASHINGTON, D.C. (WDC) BRIEFING WAS HELD IN THE OFFICE OF J. FRED BUZHARDT, GENERAL COUNSEL, DOD. BRIEFING WAS CONDUCTED BY LIEUTENANT COLONEL BROCK, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE, DEFENSE CONTRACT ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES, UNITED STATES AIR FORCE. PARTICIPANTS ALSO INCLUDED REPRESENTATIVES OF NSA, DOD, IGS AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

IN ADDITION TO THE FORMAL BRIEFING, BROCK ADVISED THAT CLEARANCE PROCEDURES OF THE RAND CORPORATION AND OTHER CONTRACTORS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

ST-118

REC-37 65-74864-601

THE CONTRACTOR FURNISHES NAMES AND AVAILABLE BACKGROUND INFORMATION CONCERNING THE EMPLOYEE FOR WHOM A CLEARANCE IS DESIGNED TO THE DEFENSE INDUSTRIAL SECURITY CLEARANCE OFFICE 65-74864-201971, OHIO, WHICH AGENCY INITIATES NATIONAL AGENCY

"END PAGE ONE" ~~AMERICAN~~
"Amended and deleted"

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PAGE TWO

CHECKS FOR CLEARANCES UP TO SECRET. WHERE BACKGROUND OR OTHER ADDITIONAL INVESTIGATION IS REQUIRED, CASES ARE REFERRED TO THE THREE MILITARY INVESTIGATIVE AGENCIES ON A PRO RATA BASIS.

DISCO WILL ISSUE A LETTER OF CONSENT TO THE CONTRACTOR FOR THE REQUESTED ACCESS IN THOSE CASES WHERE NO QUESTION OF DENIAL IS INVOLVED. DISCO HAS NO AUTHORITY TO DENY A CLEARANCE BUT MUST REFER QUESTIONABLE CASES TO THE INDUSTRIAL SECURITY CLEARANCE REVIEW DIVISION, DOD, FOR ADJUDICATION.

WITH REGARD TO AN INDIVIDUAL WHO ALREADY HOLDS A VALID GOVERNMENT CLEARANCE AND ENTERS THE EMPLOYMENT OF A CONTRACTOR HANDLING CLASSIFIED WORK, THE CLEARANCE IS TRANSFERRABLE AFTER ADDITIONAL INVESTIGATION.

IF THE EVENT THE INDIVIDUAL WITH A CLEARANCE LEAVES THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE CONTRACTOR, HIS CLEARANCE IS TERMINATED WITH REGARD TO THAT CONTRACTOR. IF, HOWEVER, THE INDIVIDUAL IS RETAINED BY THE CONTRACTOR ON A CONSULTANT BASIS, HIS CLEARANCE IS MAINTAINED WITH REGARD TO THAT CONTRACTOR.

END PAGE TWO

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PAGE THREE

CONCERNING THE VOLUME OF CLEARANCES AT RAND CORPORATION, BROCK SAID PRACTICALLY ALL RAND EMPLOYEES HAVE TOP SECRET CLEARANCES. THE WDC FACILITY MAY HAVE TWO OR THREE INDIVIDUALS WHO HAVE NOT BEEN SO CLEARED. BROCK ESTIMATED RAND EMPLOYS APPROXIMATELY FIFTY PEOPLE IN WDC AND ABOUT NINE HUNDRED IN SANTA MONICA, SEVEN HUNDRED OF WHOM ARE ON A CONSULTANT BASIS. ABOUT NINETY PERCENT OF THE CONSULTANTS ARE CLEARED FOR TOP SECRET ACCESS. BROCK SAID SEVEN OR EIGHT AIR FORCE PERSONNEL ARE PRESENTLY ASSIGNED TO RAND CORPORATION IN SANTA MONICA, NONE IN WDC. A FEW ADDITIONAL MILITARY PERSONNEL HAVE SOME ACCESS TO RAND MATERIAL.

BROCK SAID THAT RAND WAS INCORPORATED IN NINETEEN FORTY EIGHT, AT WHICH TIME IT WAS ~~USPPORTED~~ ONE HUNDRED PERCENT BY AIR FORCE CONTRACTS. IN NINETEEN SEVENTYONE FORTY PERCENT OF RAND WORK WAS UNDER AIR FORCE CONTRACT AND APPROXIMATELY ANOTHER FIFTY PERCENT IS CONCERNED WITH OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCY CONTRACTS. ABOUT TEN PERCENT OF RAND'S CONTRACTS ARE NOT FEDERALLY FUNDED NOW.

WFO WILL FURNISH COMPLETE DETAILS CONCERNING THE FORMAL AIR FORCE BRIEFING IN LHM FORM TO THE BUREAU AND INTERESTED
END PAGE THREE

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7 September 1971

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Status Report on Bibliographic Research

1. The purpose of this memorandum is to summarize the bibliographic research completed to date and to indicate the scope and direction of further research efforts.

2. Correlation Studies: Charts

a. New York Times Articles

This chart lists the 134 documents published by the New York Times and matches them against the various volumes of the Task Force Study and the "West Coast Rand Working Papers." Of the total of 134 documents published, 83 have been identified as appearing in a particular volume of the 47-volume study (with these documents appearing in a total of 19 different volumes); 31 documents have been identified as appearing in the West Coast Rand Working Papers; and the remaining 15 documents are still unidentified as to possible source.

Of the 15 still-unidentified documents, one of them should be identified in one of the 47 volumes. The remaining 14 documents will most probably not be identified in either the 47-volume study or the Rand Working Papers. These latter documents are believed to have been taken from a still-unidentified source.

In regard to the source of the 134 published documents, the 83 documents identified in the 19 volumes of the study could reasonably be assumed to have come from a set of the 47-volume study. The 31 documents identified in the Working Papers exhibit no unique textual features which could positively identify them as having been copied from the Working Papers retrieved from Rand by DOD on 18 June 1971.

b. New York Times Inventory

This chart lists the materials claimed to be held by the New York Times and matches them against the various volumes of the Task Force Study and the "West Coast Rand Working Papers."

The New York Times "Inventory List," as furnished at the New York court hearings, is as follows:

(1) A listing of 22 titles: These titles rather closely correspond to the equivalent of 37 volumes of the Task Force Study.

(2) A listing of 5 Groups of Documents: The New York Times descriptions of these documents are not precise enough to positively identify them as being descriptions of any particular volume of the Task Force Study, or as being any of the collections of documents retrieved from Rand, Santa Monica. However, it is believed that one document group, described as "Documents Relating to the Study of Military Pressures Against North Vietnam February 1964 to January 1965," relates to the so-called "Simmons Notebooks" or "Black Notebooks" retrieved from Rand. (These are listed on the New York Times Chart of Published Articles as "Black Book Volume I and Black Book Volume II").

(3) One item described as "A Summary of the Command and Control Study of the Tonkin Gulf Incidents" did not appear in the printed material of the New York Times, nor has it been identified, as yet, in the 47-volumes or in the Rand Working Papers.

c. Summary Chart.

The Summary Chart correlates much of the data available at this date which pertains to the 38 and 47-volume sets of the Pentagon Papers. It lists the 47 volumes and depicts in association with each volume information on the following subjects:

(1) Volumes couriered by Ellsberg to Santa Monica ("Courier 8" and "Courier 10");

(2) Volumes retained by RAND, Washington, from the 38-volume set ("Washington 20");

(3) The eight volumes produced after preparation of the 38-volumes to complete the final or 47-volume set;

(4) Final drafts and earlier versions of the 47 volumes.

(5) Xerox copies obtained from the Boston area and the Washington Post building;

(6) Newspaper inventories of documents held; and

(7) The 19 volumes identified to date which constituted source material for New York Times articles.

3. Document Evaluation:

a. The Rand West Coast Working Papers.

This collection of documents consists of (1) the 2 "Simmons" or "Black" notebooks and (2) a miscellaneous collection of papers known to have been in the custody of Dr. Ellsberg for varying periods of time. (See Memorandum, dated 24 August 1961, Subject: "Summation of Documents Held by Rand").

As stated in Paragraph 2a. above, 31 of the documents appearing in the New York Times have been identified as also being among these Rand Working Papers. However, there are no unique textual features, identified to date, in these documents which could positively identify them as being the source of the NYT-published documents. Copies of a majority of these documents have already been located in DOD files which are identical to those in the Rand Working Papers and the NYT-published documents. Accordingly, bibliographic research has not established a link between Rand Santa Monica, Boston and the New York Times for these documents.

Further, as mentioned above, 14 of the 15 still-unidentified documents published in the NYT may have been drawn from another miscellaneous collection of documents in Dr. Ellsberg's possession on the West Coast, but not retrieved from Rand by DOD.

b. Green/Black Notebooks.

The eight green and black notebooks, returned to DOD from RAND, Washington in June, 1971, and for which no security accounting has been provided by RAND, contained 23 draft and final draft versions from the 38/47 volume sets (see Summary Chart for identification). Four of the 23 qualify as drafts in the accepted sense of the word; that is, they are incomplete. The remaining are copies of volumes appearing in the 38/47-volume sets.

Five ~~others~~ are xerox copies of volumes from the 38-volume set, having the tell-tale binding traces distinctive of that set.

Fourteen are xerox copies from the 38/47 volume set but lack the tell-tale traces to be expected of pages xeroxed from bound editions of either of these sets. They have come, accordingly, from the same originals which produced the 38/47 volume sets.

Examination of the nineteen Green/Black notebook copies of volumes from the 38/47 sets with actual bound editions do not reveal any differences in text or in pagination. Inspection of the title page numerical designations for the volumes show that, with one or two possible exceptions, they were xeroxed when the 38-volume set was produced or at some time pre-dating that production.

Review of the green/black notebooks, therefore, indicates that:

(1) More than 5 copies of a portion of the 38-volume set were produced; and

(2) More than 15 copies of several volumes distinctive of the 47-volume set was produced.

c. Newspaper Inventory Titles.

The titles of documents which the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Boston Globe have indicated that they hold do not in every case match actual titles appearing in the 38/47-volume sets. For volume IV R 5 - "The Overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem, May - November 1963" the New York Times gave, for example, "The Coup Against Ngo Dinh Diem -- 1963." Detailed comparison of discrepancies in titles and subtitles (in the case of the Washington Post) for the three newspapers with the dozen or so draft versions available (see 3b above) was necessary to determine if these discrepancies were relatable to titles used in earlier versions. The comparison did not show that the newspapers had available to them any draft versions which might account for these differences.

We will routinely check any additional draft versions which may turn up against the worksheets used in this title-comparison study.

4. The above summarizes information determined from an examination of all materials received to date from the Rand Corporation. The salient point of this effort is that bibliographic research has neither established nor disproved a definite link between Rand-held materials, those reproduced in the Boston area, and documents published in the New York Times.

Further, our inability to identify 14 documents appearing in the New York Times indicates that source material was available to the Times other than that which came from Rand. Other than the possibility of additional materials held privately by Mr. Ellsberg, the materials now held by the National Archives are a possible source of these published documents.

Continuing research will focus on recently acquired document files to identify additional source material of published documents and develop other relevant information of value in the current investigation. These files include:

- a. The "residual files" of the Gelb Task Force;
- b. A 73-volume file consisting of SECDEF briefing books used by the Gelb Task Force, and
- c. An ISA document collection relating to Southeast Asia presumed to have been used by the Gelb Task Force.

F.H. STIRES *MASTERS*
W.D. GERHARD *W Gerhard*

cc: (1) Mr. J. Fred Buzhardt, OGC
(2) Mr. John Martin, Justice
(3) Mr. John Stahl, OSD Investigating Team

REFERENCES:

1. Memorandum, dated 11 August 1971, no subject. (Comments on the "Report on the Vietnam Papers," dated 27 July 1971. This Report, prepared by Rand, presents their explanation of the various documents held by Rand relating to the Task Force Study, including those in the custody of Dr. Ellsberg).
2. Memorandum, dated 20 August 1971, Subject: Documents Obtained from Rand, Washington, D.C." (This memorandum describes the 6 green and 2 black notebooks held by Rand, Washington).
3. Memorandum, dated 24 August 1971, Subject: "Summation of Documents Held by Rand." A descriptive summary of all Task Force Documents held by Rand and retrieved by DOD).
4. Memorandum, dated 30 July 1971, Subject: "Document Collections Used in 47-Volume Study."
5. Memorandum, dated 22 July 1971, "Authors Identified to Date" (Early study listing the authors for volumes of the study. In process of being updated.)

SUMMARY CHART

		RAND'S 38-VOLUME SET			EARLY AND FINAL DRAFTS		
	47-vol or final set	"Courier 8" 28 Aug 69 (Ellsberg)	"Courier 10" 3 Mar 69 (Ellsberg)	Remaining 20 vols at Washington	8 voluses distinctive to 47-vol set	RAND Wash. Green/Black Notebooks	Other available drafts
1	I.D.P.M.						
2	I	X					
3	II		X				
4	III			X			
5	IV.A.1			X			
6	IV.A.2		X				
7	IV.A.3	X				X	
8	IV.A.4	X				X	
9	IV.A.5		X			X	
10	IV.B.1				X	X	
11	IV.B.2		X			X	
12	IV.B.3				X		
13	IV.B.4		X			X	
14	IV.B.5		X			X	X
15	IV.C.1				X	X	
16	IV.C.2a					X	
17	IV.C.2b					X	
18	IV.C.2c			X		X	X
19	IV.C.3			X		X	X
20	IV.C.4	X				X	
21	IV.C.5		X			X	X
22	IV.C.6a				X		
23	IV.C.6b				X		
24	IV.C.6c				X		
25	IV.C.7a				X	X	
26	IV.C.7b				X	X	
27	IV.C.8		X			X	
28	IV.C.9a		X			X	
29	IV.C.9b		X			X	X
30	IV.C.10			X			
31	V.A.Vol I			X			
32	V.A.Vol II			X			
33	V.B.1			X			
34	V.B.2a			X			
35	V.B.2b Vol II			X			
36	V.B.3a			X			
37	V.B.3b Vol II			X			
38	V.B.3c			X			
39	V.B.3d Vol IV			X			
40	V.B.4 Book I			X			X
41	V.B.4 Book II			X			X
42	VI.A.			X			
43	VI.B.			X			
44	VI.C.1	X				X	
45	VI.C.2	X				X	

CHART PREPARING DATA REPORTING ON PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED AS OF 2 SEPTEMBER

BOX C'S OBTAINED

• CORRECTIVE ACTION AUDITORS WILL BE Hired AS COMPETENT EXPERTS ONLY.

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INVENTORY OF

RAND WORKING PAPERS

WEST COAST

(Matches with NY Times Articles as are noted
in the individual entries)

See Serial 1567,
J.W.T.

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Black Book, Volume I

15-3151-R

- 3 Nov 64 Project Outline: Working Group on Courses of Action in Southeast Asia
- 5 Nov 64 Draft W. P. Bundy: Conditions for Action and Key Actions Surrounding Any Decision. (N.Y.T. p. 28, 14 June 71; William Bundy Draft on Handling World and Public Opinion)
- 4 Nov 64 Forrestal, SVN, memo for Bundy - FE: Comments on your Input - II, U.S. Objectives and Stakes in South Vietnam and Southeast Asia.
- 6 Nov 64 CIA-DIA-INR Panel Draft: Sections VI, VII: Probable Reactions to Options B and C.
- 6 Nov 64 Sullivan (State) memo for W. Bundy: Courses of Action in Vietnam.
- 7 Nov 64 Draft. W. P. Bundy: III, The Broad Options
- 7 Nov 64 3rd Draft - McNaughton: Action for South Vietnam. (N.Y.T. 14 June 71, p 28: McNaughton's November Draft on Vietnam Aims and Choices)
- 7 Nov 64 Working Paper: Immediate Actions in the period prior to decision (Part VIII of the Bundy outline). (N.Y.T. 13 June 71, p 37: State Department Aide's Report on Actions Taken After Tonkin)
- 10 Nov 64 NSC Working Group Project - Courses of Action in Southeast Asia: Comments on CIA - DIA - INR Panel Draft.
• Section I - The Situation (U).
• - Also includes attachments of McNaughton's comments on Bundy draft sections VII, IX and X.
- 10 Nov 64 JCS Memo to Chairman NSC Working Group on Southeast Asia (Bundy): Comment on Draft for Part II of Project Outline on Courses of Action in Southeast Asia - "U.S. Objectives and Stakes in SVN and SEA" (S).

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- 13 Nov 64 Unidentified originator Paper re Part VI (Analysis of Option B), Section F, Likely Developments and Problems if the Communist Side Engaged in Major Retaliation at Some Point.
- 14 Nov 64 Memo from JCS, Muslin to Chairman NSC Working Group (Bundy): Additional Material for Project on Courses of Action in Southeast Asia (U)
(N.Y.T. 14 Jun 71, p 29: View of Chief Representative on Options B and C).
- 14 Nov 64 State telegram 1506 FM EMB SAIGON (DTG 140520Z)
Re SEABORN TRIP POSTPONEMENT UNTIL Nov 30.
- 16 Nov 64 Rostow Memo to McNamara: Military Dispositions and Political Signals.
(N.Y.T. 15 June 71, p 35: Letter From Rostow Favoring Commitment of Troops by U.S.)
- 20 Nov 64 McNamara memo to JCS: Immediate Resumption of The Desoto Patrols
- 23 Nov 64 Rostow memo to Rust: Some Observations As We Comt to the Crunch in Southeast Asia. (N.Y.T. June 15, 1971, p. 19: Memo from Rostow Advocating Ground Troops and Air Attacks)
- 23 Nov 64 Rowan memo to Bundy re Bundy's draft paper re Options in SVN.
- 24 Nov 64 NSC Working Group on Vietnam: Section I: Intelligence Assessment: The Situation in Vietnam including (23 Nov 64) Memo: Probable Communist Reactions to U.S. Option C or C-Prime Measures.
- 24 Nov 64 State memo for Risk, McNamara, McCone, Wheeler, Ball and Bundy: Issues Raised by Papers on Southeast Asia.
- 26 Nov 64 Revised draft W. P. Bundy/J. McNaughton: Courses of Action in Southeast Asia.

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- 27 Nov 64 State (Bundy) memo of Meeting on Southeast Asia.
(N.Y. Times, 14 June, p 28: Taylor's Briefing of
Key Officials)
- 28 Nov 64 Bundy memo for Southeast Asia Principals: Scenario
for Immediate Action Program.
- 27 Nov 64 Memo from Working Team in Saigon re Summary of
Recent MACV and CIA Cables on Infiltration.
- 29 Nov 64 Bundy Memorandum for Southeast Asia Principals.
(N.Y.T. 14 June 71, p 29: Final Draft Position Paper
Produced by Working Group)
- 6 Jan 65 Bundy Memorandum for The Secretary: Notes on The
South Vietnamese Situation and Alternatives.
- 18 Feb 65 Bundy draft: Where Are We Heading plus an Attached
note dated June 25
(N.Y.T. 15 June 71, p 19: Draft by William Bundy On
Results of Policy in '65)

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Black Book Volume II (Top Secret D-7691/67)

- Undated Footnotes (1 to 129,) nine pages.
- Undated "Decision Re Military Pressure Against NVN" (Chronology from 9 March 61 to 14 Dec 1964)
- Undated "Military Pressures Against North Vietnam: Action and Debate, Feb - Jun 1964," (Working Paper (9 pages) and Summary (3 pages).
- 22 Jan 64 JCS Memo for SECDEF, "Vietnam and Southeast Asia," JCSM - 46 - 64 TS Sensitive, 5 pages. (N.Y. Times, June 13, p. 35: "'64 Memo by Joint Chiefs of Staff Discussing Widening of the War")
- 18 Mar 64 JCS (M/Gen F. T. Unger) Memo to CINCPAC, "Planning Actions, Vietnam," (TS)
- 20 Mar 64 SECSTATE 1484 (For Amb Lodge from the President). (TS) (Contains interesting marginalia) (N.Y.T., 13 June, p 36: "Cable From President to Lodge on Escalation Contingencies")
- 19 May 64 JCSM 426-64, "North Vietnam Operations" TS (hand-written version)
- 25 Jul 64 Saigon Emb cable to State # 214 (TS) (N.Y.T., June 13, p. 36: "Cable from Taylor Warning on the 'March North' Campaign")
- 27 Jul 64 Vientiane Emb to State Cable # 170 (TS)
- Undated Paper titled "Proof of Attack" (concerns 8/2 and 8/4/64 Gulf of Tonkin attacks) (TS)
- 26 Jul 64 State cable # 89 to Vientiane (no subject title but on proposed strikes in Laos) (TS)

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- Undated "Tonkin Gulf Incident" (8 pages of handwritten notes giving a chronology)
- 5 Aug 64 CINCPAC msg to JCS, "Rules of Engagement". TS
- 7 Aug 64 AMEMB, Ottawa Cable to (State?), Info Saigon, (no subject line but concerns Tonkin Gulf and SEABORN contact). Early version of 8 Aug item below.
- 8 Aug 64 United States note, 8 Aug to Canadian Emb, Wash for relay to Seaborn, ICC. TS
(N.Y.T, 13 June, p 36; "U.S. Note to Canada on Points for Envoy to Relay to Hanoi")
- 8 Aug 64 State cable to AMEMB, Ottawa, Saigon: text of U.S. note (above) TS
- 7 Aug 64 State cable to AMEMB's Vientiane, London, Paris, Saigon, Bangkok, Ottawa, N. D. Moscow, Phnom Penh, AM Conger Hong Kong, USUN NY, CINCPAC Sec LIMDIS
(NYT, 14 June, p 27: "Rusk Query to Vientiane Embassy on Desirability of Laos Cease-Fire")
- 9 Aug AMEMB Saigon to SECSTATE Info Vientiane, Bangkok, CINCPAC (Subj: Retaliation after Gulf of Tonkin event)
(N.Y.Times, 14 June 71, p 27: "Saigon Embassy's Response on Drawbacks in Laos Talks")
- 11 August 64 McNaughton memo to William Bundy # I-36528/64
(on Rules of Engagement)
- 11 August 64 William Bundy Memo, "Next Courses of Action in SEA," Secret
(N.Y. Times, 13 June, p 36: "William Bundy Memo on Actions available to U.S. After Tonkin")
- 14 Aug 64 SACSA M 400-64 to Col J. F. Moody, Military Assistant to SECDEF, "Amb Taylor's Initial Report from South Vietnam". Secret
(N.Y. Times, 13 June, p 37: "Summary of Taylor's Report sent to McNamara by Joint Chiefs")

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- 14 Aug 64 State cable # 439 to Saigon, # 157 to Vientiane TS
- 15 Aug 64 JCS cable 7947 to CINCPAC, "Rules of Engagement" TS
- 16 Aug 64 COMUSMACV cable to CINCPAC # MAC J 34 8213 TS
"Cross Border Operations"
- 17 Aug 64 Extract from CJCS memo for SECDEF (JCSM 707-64),
(Combat Air Capability in NVN")
- 17 Aug 64 USEMB Vientiane to STATE Cable # 310 TS
- 17 Aug 64 CINCPAC cable to JCS, "Next Courses of Action in
Southeast Asia," TS.
(N.Y. Times, June 13, p. 37: "Warning to Hanoi and
Saigon - Pacific Commander's Evaluation of Washington's
Action Scenario")
- 18 Aug 64 Saigon Emb to State cable 465 TS
(N.Y.T, June 14, p 27: "U.S. Mission's Recommendations
on Further Military Steps")
- 20 Aug 64 COMUSMACV Cable to CINCPAC and others, MAC J5 8439,
"Advance Notice No. 1 to Change 3 to COMUSMACV OPLAN
37-64A. COMUSMACV OPLAN 37-64." TS
- 24 Aug 64 Asst SECDEF Memo for SECDEF, "Review of USAF Study:
"Relationship of Tactical Air to Ground Forces, SEA, 1964
and 1969" TS
- 20 Aug 64 Emb, Saigon cable # 481 for State, "Joint State - Defense
Message" Sec LIMDIS
- 26 Aug 64 JCS Memo for SECDEF, JCSM - 746-64, "Recommended
Courses of Action - SEA" TS Sensitive
- 26 Aug 64 JCS Memo for SECDEF, JCSM 746-64, "Recommended Courses
of Action - SEA" TS Sensitive
(N.Y. Times, 14 June, p. 27: "Joint Chiefs Recommendation
on Military Courses of Action")

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- 26 Aug 64 State Cable # 193 to Vientiane, TS LIMDIS
(N. Y. Times, 14 June, p. 27: "Rusk Cable to Embassy in Laos on Search and Rescue Flights")
- 27 Aug 64 JCS (Office of SACSA) Memo to Mr. Wm Bundy and Mr. J. T. McNaughton, "OPLAN 34A - September Schedule"
(N. Y. Times, 13 June, p. 37: "1964 Memo from the Joint Chiefs on September's Covert Raids")
- 31 Aug 64 McNamara Memo for CJCS, "JCSM - 729-64: Target Study - NVN (S)" TS
- 29 Aug 64 Asst SECDEF (J. T. McNaughton) memo to SECDEF, "Response to JCSM-729-64; Target Study - NVN (S)." TS
- 3 Sep 64 (?McNaughton) draft (2nd), "Plan of Action for South Vietnam," TS
(N. Y. Times excerpts, 14 June, p. 27: "Plan of Action attributed to Asst Secretary McNaughton")
- 8 Sep 64 Asst SEC STATE (W. Bundy) Memo, "Courses of Action for SVN," Secret
(N. Y. Times, 14 June, p. 28: "Top Aides' Proposal to Johnson on Military Steps in Late '64")
- 9 Sep 64 State cable to Saigon, Vientiane, and Bangkok, Info others, "Joint State/Defense Message" TS Exdis
- 9 Sep 64 CJCS (CM-124-64) Memo, "Courses of Action for South Vietnam" TS
- 10 Sep 64 McGeorge Bundy NSAM 314 to SECSTATE and SECDEF . TS
(N. Y. Times, 14 June, p. 28: "Memo on Johnson's Approval of Renewed Naval Operations")
- 11 Sep 64 McGeorge Bundy's comments on question and answer pamphlet to SECDEF Conf.
- 16 Sep 64 Emb Saigon cable to DOD, CINCPAC, State TS EXDIS

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- 19 Sep 64 State cable to W.H. (Bundy), DOD, CINCPAC, CIA
(Conclusion of Amb Taylor's meeting on air and limited
ground operations, Lao corridor) TS Exdis
(N.Y. Times, 14 June, p. 29: "Report of Meeting of U.S.
Envoy to Review Operations in Laos")
- 23 Sep 64 CINCPAC Cable to JCS, Emb Saigon, COMUSMACV,
CINCPACFLT, CINCPACAF, "Desoto Patrol Ops."
Secret

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- 25 Sep 64 CINCPAC Msg to JCS (Exclusive for Wheeler), TS
- 25 Sep 64 State Cable #727 to Emb Saigon and Others, "Joint State-Defense Message" TS EXDIS
- 28 Sep 64 JCS Cable to CINCPAC, INFO Others, "Definitive Rules of Engagement Applying to LAOS" TS
- 30 Sep 64 Cyrus R. Vance Memo for McNaughton on 34A procedures
- 12 Oct 64 Emb, Saigon Msg to State, INFO others
(Subject: Coordination with other embassies) TS EXDIS
- 12 Oct 64 CINCPAC Msg to JCS and others, "Use of Thai-Based US Air Forces (S)," TS
- 6 Oct 64 State Cable, "Joint State-Defense Message (NY Times, 14 June, p. 28:)"
- 6 Oct 64 State Cable to Saigon Emb, INFO others (Subject of inter-emb coordination in SEA) TS
- 13 Oct 64 State Msg to Vientiane -- Joint State-Defense Msg -- "Military Operations in Laos" SECRET LIMDIS
- 9 Oct 64 State Msg relaying Emb Saigon to State Cable on Organizing Session on Rules of Engagement Air Ops, SAR, 34A etc. (Bkg - Vientiane - Saigon coordination session)
- 10 Oct 64 Saigon Emb Msg #1080 to State (Given Terms of Reference for Bkg, Vientiane, Saigon coordination) SECRET
- Undtd Memo for Mr. Joseph A. Califano, Jr. (I-28526164), "Item for Weekly Report to the President" -- Lao Dep PM Would Like To Expand Mil Ops in the North -- SECRET
- 13 Oct 64 Emb, Vientiane to State Cable
(Targets for Air Ops) TS EXDIS
- 14 Oct 64 Saigon Emb Cable #1129 to State TS

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- 13 Oct 64 McNaughton 1st Draft, "Aims and Options in SEA" TS
- 19 Oct 64 CINCPAC Msg to JCS, "Terms of Reference for SEA COORD." TS
- 21 Oct 64 McNamara Memo for CJCS, "Cross Border Operations," TS
(17 Oct) Contains McNaughton Memo to SECDEF, same subject, dated 17 Oct TS
- 27 Oct 64 McNamara Memo to CJCS, "US Search and Rescue Operation -- SEA" TS (Includes draft msg on subject)
- 23 Oct 64 McNaughton Memo to SECDEF, "US Search and Rescue Operations -- Southeast Asia" TS
- 29 Oct 64 State Cable #937 to Saigon Emb, "Legitimation [sic] of OP34A" TS EXDIS
- 27 Oct 64 JCSM-902-64 (handwritten note) TS
- 1 Nov 64 JCS Msg 1452 to CINCPAC, "Air Defense Augmentation SEA (C)" TS
- 1 Nov 64 JCS Msg to Gen. Westmoreland and Amb Taylor, TS
- 3 Nov 64 AmEmb (Taylor) Msg to OSD (Taylor's views on actions against NVN) TS EXDIS
- 29 Oct 64 OSD Msg for Amb Taylor, Saigon (Request's Taylor's views) TS
- 4 Nov 64 CJCS (Wheeler) Memo to SECDEF, JCSM-933-64, "Recommended US Courses of Action in Relation to VC Attack on Bien Hoa Airfield, 1 Nov 64" TS
- 13 Nov 64 McNamara Memo to CJCS, Subject as in 4 Nov 64
CJCS Memo above

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TOP SECRET SENSITIVE USE ONLY

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Items in Brown Notebook ("Vietnam Documents, TS-3193
C.I.A") (Top Secret, Group 1)

- 12 Apr 61 Memo to President from Rostow re: Lines of Action (N.Y.T., 1 July 71, p 3 - "Memo from Rostow to Kennedy with Nine Proposals for Action")
- 27 Apr 61 Memo for President from Gilpatric, "Program of Action for Vietnam"
- w/ incl: Task Force document, 26 Apr 61 ("A Program of Action to Prevent Communist Domination of South Vietnam")
- 3/ Annex A: "Status of Counter-Insurgency Plan for Vietnam"
- 8 May 61 "Program of Action for Vietnam" - Memo from Lansdale (N.Y.T., 1 Jul 71, p 3: "Vietnam 'Program of Action' by Kennedy's Task Force")
- w/ Attachment: Draft of 6 May 61 "A Program of Action to Prevent Communist Domination of South Vietnam"
- 8 May 61 Memo from Lansdale: "Annexes to Program of Action for South Vietnam"
- (N.Y.T. 1 Jul 71, p. 3: "Vietnam 'Program of Action' by Kennedy's Task Force")
- 21 July 61 Memo for Taylor from Lansdale: "Vietnam Force Increase"
- 21 July 61 Memo for Taylor from Lansdale: "Resources for Unconventional Warfare, Southeast Asia"
- (N.Y.T. 1 July 71, p. 4: "Lansdale Memo for Taylor on Unconventional Warfare")
- 3 Nov 61 Section from Taylor Report, "Evaluation and Conclusions"
(N.Y.T. 1 July 71: "Evaluation and Conclusions of Taylor's Report on Vietnam" excerpts)
- 3 Nov 61 Memo for Taylor from Lansdale: "Vietnam" (from Tab K, Taylor Report, 3 Nov 61)
- Undated Joint Action Program proposed by Vietnam - U.S. Special Financial Groups (Staley Report, 1961).
w/ Attachment
w/ Charts and Graphs from various sources

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TQ3 SECRET SENSITIVE

5 Oct 61

Memo for SECDEF from DASD Williams: "Alternative
Plans for Southeast Asia

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Ellsberg Manuscript (TS 3194, CIA)
(~~Top Secret~~, Group 1) (Brown Notebook)

Notebook contains 293 pages of narrative analysis and document extracts.

List of Contents Follows:

1. Table of Contents (Part IV, B. 1, B. 2 -- Rough 1st Draft, 12/16/67 -- and "The Challenge to US -- Vietnam Policy in 1961")
2. "Theses on Vietnam"
3. "Vicious Cycles in Vietnam ..."
4. "Background to 1961"
5. "1960: Rehearsal for 1961"
6. "Priorities and U.S. Influence"
7. "The 'Presidential Program for Vietnam' of April - May 1961"
8. "The Taylor Report"

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Description: TS-3253-B (Pontiro Notes on 1961 concluding summary and comments) document consists of 51 pages

Summary - pp 1-10

19 Oct 61 Lesser Courses of Action Oct 61. pp 11-14

18 Oct 61 CINCPAC msg number 77 to JCS ref CINCPAC Short of Intervention Suggestions. pp 15-17

18 Oct 61 CINCPAC msg number 93 to JCS ref Taylor Visit with CINCPAC. pp 18-20

25 Oct 61 Msg from Saigon to State 536 ref Taylor Report. pp 21-24

25 Oct 61 Msg from Saigon to State 537 (excerpts) ref Taylor on Flood TF 25 Oct. p 25

25 Oct 61 20 Courses of Action 25 Oct 61. pp 26-29

27 Oct 61 Msg from Bangkok - State 620, 27 Oct 61 ref Taylor Briefing on Plans in Bangkok 27 Oct. p 30

2 Nov 61 20 Courses, Taylor & Felt Suggestions 2 Nov 61. pp 31 and 32

6 Nov 61 Draft by Col Kent, ISA: ISA on Alternative Actions Nov 6. pp 33-35

15 Nov 61 Meeting with JFK 15 Nov 61. p 36 (Same item page 41).

14 Nov 61 Decisions on Taylor Report: State to Saigon, NIACT 618, 14 Nov 61 for Molting, Eyes Only, cleared by JFK. p 37-38 and 39-40 (two copies of same msg).

1 Dec 61 Bundy on Command Arrangements 1 Dec 61. pp 42 and 43

7 Dec 61 SECDEF to State on Cmd, 7 Dec 61. pp 44-46. (TS)

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12 Dec 61 State Suggestion of MACV 12 Dec: State - Paris
to Sec 32, 5590, 12 Dec 61: p 47 (TS)

18 Dec 61 Rusk on MACV 18 Dec. p 48 (S)

Extract from WSEG, First Draft, "Summary of
Observations on the U. S. Command Experience in
Laos, August 1960 - May 1961," 17 October 1963
pp 49-51 (TS)

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- 3 May 61 Ed Lansdale Memorandum to Members of Task Force
on Viet-Nam (TS 3253-A)
- 3 May 61 Roswell L. Gilpatric Memorandum for the President,
Subject: Program of Action for Vietnam
- 1 May 61 A Program of Action to Prevent Communist Domination
of South Vietnam pp 1-36
- 8 May 61 Letter from U.S. President J. F. K. to South Vietnam's
President Ngo Dinh Diem pp 1-4
- 10 May 61 Paper (superseded by 10/11/61 draft) on Concept for
Intervention in Vietnam pp 1-8
- 11 Oct 61 Gilpatric Memo for the record, Subj: South Vietnam
p 1 and 2
- 3 Nov 61 Taylor's Memo to the President pp 1-3
- 8 Nov 61 Memorandum for the President from SECDEF McNamara,
subj: South Vietnam pp 1 and 2
*(NYT 1 Jul 71 p 5: Conclusions of McNamara on Report
by General Taylor)*
- 22 Nov 61 National Security Action Memorandum No. 111 from
Bundy to SECSTATE pp 1-3
- 27 Dec 61 Lansdale Memo for the CJCS, Subj: Vietnamese Command
Problem 1 page
- 28 Dec 61 Gilpatric letter to SECSTATE 1 page
- 18 Jan 62 Lemnitzer memo for General Lansdale, Subj: Vietnamese
Command Problem pp 1 and 2
- 27 Jan 62 SECDEF Memo to the President. (NYT 1 Jul 71 p 6:
Memo from Joint Chiefs Urging a Greater Role in South
Vietnam)

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OFFICE USE ONLY

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

- 13 Jan 62 JCS Memo to SECDEF dated 13 Jan 62, Subj: The Strategic Importance of the Southeast Asia Mainland (NYT 1 Jul 71 p 6: Memo from Joint Chiefs Urging a Greater Role in South Vietnam)
- 27 Jan 62 Memo from Berry to SECDEF 1 page
- 25 Jan 62 Memo to SECDEF from The Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs) 1 page
- 27 Nov 64 Memorandum of Meeting on Southeast Asia November 27, 1964 pp 1-3

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~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~

UNBOUND COLLECTION OF ITEMS NUMBER 1 THROUGH 29

- (6)
- 1 Dec 64 Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense from Chairman, JCS, (JCSM 1005-64), Subject: Questions Concerning South Vietnam, Appendix, same subject.
- 9 Dec 64 EXDIS Msg to SECSTATE 1758 from AmEmb Saigon, Secret.
- 10 Dec 64 EXDIS Msg to Amemb Saigon 1247 from State Dept (signed Ball), Secret.
- 9 Dec 64 Memo for Secys Rusk & McNamara, Messrs. McCone, Ball, McG. Bundy and McNaughton from William P. Bundy, Subj: Cooper Materials on North Vietnamese Infiltration, w/ Attachment: Memo for Mr. William Bundy from Chester L. Cooper; (CIA), 4 Dec 64, Subj: Public Statement on VC Infiltration.
w/ Enclosure: "Infiltration of Military and Technical Personnel from North to South Vietnam,, 23 Jan 65.
- 12 Dec 64 Memo for SECDEF from Acting Chairman, JCS (JCSM-1042-64), Subj: Intensification of OPLAN 34A Maritime Operations (S)
- 14 Dec 64 Memo for Chairman, JCS from Cyrus Vance. Subj: Intensification of OPLAN 34A Maritime Operations (S)
- 30 Dec 64 State Dept Memo of Conv 68695, Subj: South East Asia.
- 21 Dec 64 State Dept Tel to AmEmb Saigon 1312
- 24 Dec 64 Msg from SECSTATE to AMEMB Saigon FLASH 1347
- 25 Dec 64 Msg from SECSTATE to AMEMB Saigon 1355.
- 26 Dec 64 Msg from CINCPAC to JCS

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TOP SECRET SENSITIVE

- 28 Dec Msg from AmEmb Saigon to SECSTATE FLASH 1975
- 29 Dec 64 29 Dec 64 Memo for DepSecDef from Peter Solbert DASD(ISA), Subj: Third Country Assistance to South Vietnam.
- 29 Dec 64 Msg from SecState to Amemb Saigon 1365.
- 2 Jan 65 Memo for DepSecDef from Exec to Chairman, JCS, CM 353-65, Subj: Evaluation of Communist Reaction to Barrel Roll (S), w/ Attachment: Memo for Chairman, JCS from Dir. DIA, 31 Dec 64, Subj: Evaluation of Communist Reaction to Barrel Roll (S).
- 29 Jan 65 Memo for SecDef from Chairman, JCS, Subj: Reprisal to Significant Incidents in the RVN (S).
- 29 Jan 65 Msg from JCS to CINCPAC, Subj DESOTO Reprisal Forces (S)
- 3 Feb 65 Msg from JCS to CINCPAC, Subj: Reprisal Attack Options (S)
- Undated Msg from CINCPAC to CINCPACFLT, CINCPACAF, COMUSMACV (NMCC 12825), Subj: Flaming Dart (U)
TOP SECRET LIMDIS NOFORN
- 1 Feb 65 Ltr to SECDEF from Dir, FBI, Feb 1, 65 w/ Encl: Foreign Political Matter - South Vietnam.
- 2 Feb 65 Memo for SECDEF from Dir, DIA, Subj: General Khanh's Alleged Neutralist Leaning ;(S)
- Feb 65 Transcript of Conversation between Mr. William Bundy and Mr. McGeorge Bundy over Secure Line TOP SECRET EXDIS
- 0 Feb 65 Memo for Col A. J. F. Moody, Mil Asst to SECDEF from Vice Adm Mustin, Dir for Ops, JCS, (J3M 18165) SECRET w/ Encl: Memo for Director J-3, 9 Feb 65, Subj: CVAs on Station Yankee Point.

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~~TOP SECRET SENSITIVE~~

- 12 Feb 65 Msg from JCS 005095 to CINCPAC, Subj: Reprisal Attack Options (S) TOP SECRET
- 16 Feb 65 Msg from JCS 005332 to CINCPAC Subj: Reprisal Attack Options (S) TOP SECRET
- 17 Feb 65 Msg from CINCPAC P 170217Z Feb 65 Sec 1 of 2 to JCS, Subj: Terms for Cessation of Reprisal Attacks Against DRV (S)
- 17 Feb 65 Msg from CINCPAC to JCS Sec 2 of 2, same subj. TOP SECRET
- 17 Feb 65 Memo for Chairman, JCS from Robert S. McNamara, re bomb damage assessment reports (w/o attachment) SECRET
- 17 Feb 65 Draft Msg from JCS to CINCPAC unnumbered, Feb 65, Subj: Reprisal Strike (S) w/ Map: Reprisal Strike TOP SECRET
- 23 Feb 65 Memo for SECDEF from Chairman, JCS 23 Feb 65 (CM 446-65), Subj: Reprisal Strikes SECRET
w/ Enclosure: "Initial Points of Interest", SECRET
w/ Tabs 24 (Chanh Hoa, 11 Feb 65), SECRET
33 (Dong Hoi, 7 Feb 65) SECRET
39 (Chap Le - First Strike 8 Feb 65) SECRET
39 (Chap Le Second Strike 11 Feb 65) SECRET
- 17 Feb 65 Memo for Chairman, JCS from Robert S. McNamara, re bomb damage assessment reports, SECRET
w/ Attachment 2/7/65 Strike on # 33 Dong Hoi Army Barracks (S)
2/11/65 Strike on # 24 Chanh Hoa Army Barracks (S)
2/8/65 Strike on # 39, Chap Le Army Barracks (S)
- 24 Feb 65 Msg from JCS 005776 to CINCPAC 240218Z Feb 65, Subj: Warning Order Rolling Thunder III (U) w/ Incl Map: Rolling Thunder III, TOP SECRET LIMDIS
- 20 Mar 65 Msg from JCS 007484 to CINCPAC 200019Z Mar 65, Subj Report of Survey of the Military Situation in RVN (U) TOP SECRET
SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVE EXDIS

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UNBOUND WORKING PAPERS

- 2 Oct 63 Memo for President "Report of McNamara-Taylor Mission to South Vietnam" (NYT 1 Jul 71, p 10; McNamara-Taylor Report On Mission to South Vietnam) (TS 3253-C)
- 20 Jun 64 Candel Saigon to External 273, "Call on PM Phom Van Dong" (TS-3200)
- 27 Feb 68 Report of Chairman, JCS on Situation in Vietnam and MACV Force Requirements (NYT 4 July 71, p 15; Wheeler's '68 Report to Johnson After the Tet Offensive) (TS 3234)
- 29 Feb 68 Alternative Strategies (TS 3235)
- 12/68 Vietnam: The Situation and Alternative Strategies (TS 3356)

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Newspaper Profile of Materials From The Pentagon Papers

1. Newspaper: The Boston Globe

2. Dates of Publication: On 16 and 22 June and on 1 and 2 July, The Globe published a series of articles on the Pentagon Study.

3. Description of Articles: The series of articles in The Globe consisted of narrative commentary on the Pentagon Papers utilizing frequent direct quotations purported to have come from the Pentagon Papers. Five individual documents were printed and appended to certain of The Globe's articles. Boston Globe staff writers contributing to the series, according to bylines, were: Matthew V. Storin, Robert Healy, Crocker Snow, Jr. Darius S. Jhabvala, Martin F. Nolan, Stephen M. Johnson.

4. Listing of Documents: The five documents appearing in The Boston Globe have been identified to source (see attached).

5. Sources of Documents: An examination of sources of the five published documents indicates that The Globe did not have unique source material unavailable to The New York Times.

THIS INFORMATION IS THE RESULT OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ACCOMPLISHED AS OF 7 SEPTEMBER 1971. CORRECTIONS AND/OR ADDITIONS WILL BE MADE AS CONTINUING RESEARCH WARRANTS.

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U.S. VIETNAM RELATIONS,
1945 - 1967 -- 47 VOLUMES

ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN BOSTON GLOBE

WEST COAST RAND
WORKING PAPERS
(Reprinted by RAND
to DOD, 18 Jun 71)

DATE PAGE TITLE/SUBJECT

<u>ART</u>	<u>SUB-PART</u>	<u>VOLUME</u>	<u>PAGE</u>	<u>TITLE</u>
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1.
EVOLUTION OF THE WAR
THE KENNEDY PROGRAM
AND COMMITMENTS: 1961

94-100

22 Jun 71 3

Cen. "Major's Vietnam
Cables (three) to Kennedy
(Oct 61)

V.
C.

3.

EVOLUTION OF THE WAR
THE ROLLING THUNDER
PROGRAM BEGINS

35-39

16 Jun 71 18

"Major's Sunday attack "in-
pirals" (7 Feb 65)

22 Jun 71 18

(Gen. Wheeler's) Report on
Int. Offensive (27 Feb 65)

*Mac unbound
Working papers*

Newspaper Profile of Materials From The Pentagon Papers

1. Newspaper: Chicago Sun-Times

2. Dates of Publication: On 16 June the Sun-Times printed an article which quoted from and commented on articles published previously by The New York Times relating to the Pentagon Study. The Sun-Times began publishing its own series of articles on the Pentagon Study on 23 June and continued through 27 June. Additional articles appeared in the Sun-Times on 2-4 and 9 July.

3. Description of Articles: The series of articles in the Sun-Times consisted of narrative commentary on the Pentagon Papers utilizing frequent direct quotations purported to have come from the Pentagon Papers. One separate document, unlocated in the 47 volumes or Rand Working Papers, was published. The Sun-Times articles all appeared under Washington datelines and under bylines of Sun-Times Washington Bureau writers Morton Kondracke and Thomas B. Ross.

4. Listing of Published Documents: The Sun-Times printed the text of a document, identified by the newspaper as memorandum from Roger Hilsman to Dean Rusk, dated 30 August 1963. That memorandum was described by the newspaper as previously declassified.

5. Sources of Documents: The one document published by the Sun-Times did not appear in The New York Times nor does it appear in the 47 volumes or the Rand Working Papers. From an examination of the one document published by the Sun-Times we are unable to determine if this document was in possession of The New York Times.

THIS INFORMATION IS THE RESULT OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ACCOMPLISHED AS OF 7 SEPTEMBER 1971. CORRECTIONS AND/OR ADDITIONS WILL BE MADE AS CONTINUING RESEARCH WARRANTS.

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Newspaper Profile of Materials From The Pentagon Papers

1. Newspaper: The Christian Science Monitor
2. Dates of Publication: On 22, 23, 29, 30 June and 1 July The Christian Science Monitor published a series of articles on the Pentagon Study.
3. Description of Articles: The series of articles in the Monitor consisted of narrative commentary on the Pentagon Papers utilizing frequent direct quotations purported to have come from the Pentagon Papers. The first two articles in the Monitor series were written by Courtney R. Sheldon under a Washington dateline. The remainder of the series was datelined Boston with attribution to David K. Willis and Geoffrey Godsell.
4. Listing of Published Documents: No documents were published separately by the Monitor.
5. Sources of Documents: Research has not yet been undertaken to match document excerpts quoted in the narrative texts with their possible sources (47 volumes of Rand Working Papers). However, an initial scan of the narrative indicates that the Monitor did not have unique source materials unavailable to The New York Times.

THIS INFORMATION IS THE RESULT OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ACCOMPLISHED AS OF 7 SEPTEMBER 1971. CORRECTIONS AND/OR ADDITIONS WILL BE MADE AS CONTINUING RESEARCH WARRANTS.

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Newspaper Profile of Materials From The Pentagon Papers

1. Newspaper: Los Angeles Times

2. Dates of Publication: On 24 and 26 June the Los Angeles Times published articles based on the Pentagon Study.

3. Description of Articles: The articles in the Los Angeles Times consisted of narrative commentary on the Pentagon Papers utilizing frequent direct quotations purported to have come from the Pentagon Papers. A transcript of the last conversation between Henry Cabot Lodge and Ngo Dinh Diem was published by the Los Angeles Times. The articles were all published under a Washington dateline and attribution was given to writers of the Knight newspaper chain. The Los Angeles Times used similar, but not exactly duplicative material as The Miami Herald and The Philadelphia Inquirer, the other Knight newspapers reporting on the Pentagon Papers.

4. Listing of Published Documents: The transcript of the last conversation between Henry Cabot Lodge and Ngo Dinh Diem appeared in the 24 June edition (see attached).

5. Sources of Documents: The transcript of the conversation published by the Los Angeles Times was also published by The New York Times. Research has not been undertaken to match quotations from the Los Angeles Times articles with their possible sources (47 volumes of Rand Working Papers). An initial scan of the narrative indicates the Los Angeles Times did not have unique source materials unavailable to The New York Times.

THIS INFORMATION IS THE RESULT OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ACCOMPLISHED AS OF 7 SEPTEMBER 1971. CORRECTIONS AND/OR ADDITIONS WILL BE MADE AS CONTINUING RESEARCH WARRANTS.

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U.S. VIETNAM RELATIONS
1945 - 1967 -- 47 VOLUMES

ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN LOS ANGELES TIMES

WEST COAST RAND

WORKING PAPERS

(Returned by RCD)

To DOD, 18 Jun 71

<u>ITEM</u>	<u>SUB-EART</u>	<u>VOLUME</u>	<u>PAGE</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>	<u>TITLE/SUBJECT</u>
Q	B.	5.	57-58	EVOLUTION OF THE WAR The Overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem May - Nov- ember, 1963	24 Jun 71	Lodge's Last Talk With Diem (1 Nov 63)	

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Newspaper Profile of Materials From The Pentagon Papers

1. Newspaper: The Philadelphia Inquirer

2. Dates of Publication: On 22 and 24-28 June; 1, 4 and 10 July The Philadelphia Inquirer printed a series of articles which quoted from and commented on the Pentagon Study.

3. Description of Articles: The series of articles in the Inquirer consisted of narrative commentary on the Pentagon Papers utilizing frequent direct quotations purported to have come from the Pentagon Papers. One separate document was published. The material in the Inquirer was published with a Washington dateline with the exception of one piece under a New York dateline. Writers contributing to the Inquirer series, according to bylines, were: Stuart H. Lorry, Robert S. Boyd, David Kraslow, Brian Donovan, Ioye Miller, Jr., Saul Friedman and James McCartney. The Philadelphia Inquirer used similar, but not exactly replicative material as the Los Angeles Times and The Miami Herald, the other right newspapers reporting on the Pentagon Papers.

4. Listing of Published Documents: The Philadelphia Inquirer printed a transcript of the last conversation between Henry Cabot Lodge and Ngo Dinh Diem (see attached).

5. Sources of Documents: The conversation published by the Inquirer was also published by The New York Times. Research has not been undertaken to match citations from the Inquirer series with their possible sources (47 volumes of Rand Working Papers). An initial scan of the narrative indicates the Inquirer did not have unique source material unavailable to The New York Times.

THIS INFORMATION IS THE RESULT OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ACCOMPLISHED
3 OF 7 SEPTEMBER 1971. CORROBORATIVE AND/OR ADDITIONS WILL BE MADE AS
CONTINUING RESEARCH WARRANTS.

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U.S. VIETNAM RELATIONS
1945 - 1967 -- 27 VOLUMES

ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN THE PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER

WEST COAST RAID

WORKING PAPERS

(Returned by FWD

To DOD. 26 Jun 71)

DATE
VOLUME PAGE
TITLE
TO DOD. 26 Jun 71) Date Page TITLE/SUBJECT

57-58 EVOLUTION OF THE WAR
The Overthrow of Ngo
Dinh Diem, May - Nov-
ember 1963

Lodge's Last Talk With Diem
(1 Nov 63)

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Newspaper Profile of Materials From The Pentagon Papers.

1. Newspaper: St. Louis Post-Dispatch

2. Dates of Publication: On 23, 25, 30 June and 1, 2, 3 and 6 July the St. Louis Post-Dispatch published a series of articles on the Pentagon Study.

3. Description of Articles: The series of articles in the Post-Dispatch consisted largely of printed texts of documents from the Pentagon Papers; very little narrative was employed. The material in the Post-Dispatch was published with a Washington dateline with the exception of one piece under a New York dateline. Attribution was given to the paper's Washington Bureau, no writers' names appeared.

4. Listing of Published Documents: The Post-Dispatch printed 15 documents separately (see attached).

5. Sources of Documents: All documents printed separately were located in the 47 volumes, and all were available to The New York Times. Research has not yet been undertaken to match document excerpts quoted in the narrative texts with their possible sources (47 volumes or Rand Working Papers). However, an initial scan of the narrative indicates that the St. Louis Post-Dispatch did not have unique source material unavailable to The New York Times.

THIS INFORMATION IS THE RESULT OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ACCOMPLISHED AS OF 7 SEPTEMBER 1971. CORRECTIONS AND/OR ADDITIONS WILL BE MADE AS CONTINUING RESEARCH WARRANTS.

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U.S. VIETNAM RELATIONS,
1945 - 1967 -- 47 VOLUMES

ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

WEST COAST RAND

WORKING PAPERS

(Returned by RAND

to DOD, 18 Jun 71)

ST. SUB-PART VOLUME PAGE TITLE DATE PAGE EDITOR/SUBJECT

C. 6. (a) U.S. GROUND STRATEGY
AND FORCE DEPLOYMENTS

1965 - 1967

VOLUME I

81-89

25 Jun 71 1 & 14A Text of a Memorandum to
President Lyndon B. Johnson
from Secretary of Defense
Robert S. McNamara on
Oct. 14, 1966.

90

25 Jun 71 14A Extracts from CIA-DIA Report
"An Appraisal of the Bombing
of North Vietnam through
12 September 1966".

90-91

25 Jun 71 14A Extracts from a March 16,
CIA Report "An Analysis of
ROLLING THUNDER Air
Offensive against North
Vietnam."

108-119

25 Jun 71 14A-15A Partial text of a Memorandum
drafted by Secretary of
Defense Robert S. McNamara
for President Lyndon B.
Johnson, Nov. 27, 1966.

WEST COAST RAND

WORKING PAPERS

(Returned by RAND

to DOD, 19 Jun 71

DATE

PAGE

TITLE/SUBJECT

C. 6. (b) U.S. GROUND STRATEGY
AND FORCE DEPLOYMENTS

1965 - 1967

VOLUME II

117-123

1 Jul 71 6A-7A

Following is a text of a memorandum to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara from Assistant Secretary of Defense Alan Enthoven, in charge of systems analysis. The memo, dated May 1, 1967, dealt with proposed increases in United States Military Forces in Southeast Asia.

146-465

1 Jul 71 7A,
10A, 11A

Hanoi Awaited U.S. Vote.
Following are portions of the Pentagon's secret study of the Vietnam War including excerpts from a draft of a memorandum to President Lyndon B. Johnson from the late John F. McNaughton, then Assistant Secretary of Defense in charge of International Security Affairs.

WEST COAST RAND
WORKING PAPERS

(Returned by RAND
to DOD 18 Jun 71)

<u>RT SUB-PART</u>	<u>VOLUME</u>	<u>PAGE</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>DATE</u>	<u>PAGE!</u>	<u>TITLE/SUBJECT</u>
C.	6. (b)		U.S. GROUND STRATEGY AND FORCE DEPLOYMENTS			1965 - 1967

VOLUME II

174-178

1 Jul 71 11A

Chiefs' Cite Five Major Areas of Concern. Extracts from the Secret Pentagon papers on U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, including excerpts from a memorandum by the Joint Chiefs of Staff on May 31, 1967, replying to McNaughton's draft memorandum to the President.

180-188

1 Jul 71 11A

"South Vietnamese have to do the Job Themselves". Excerpts from memorandum by Assistant Secretary of State William P. Bundy, in charge of Far Eastern Affairs. The comments accompanying the excerpts are by the Defense Department analysts who wrote the secret Pentagon report on the Vietnam War. The Bundy memorandum was dated June 2, 1967.

U.S. VIETNAM RELATIONS,
1945 - 1967 -- 47 VOLUMES

ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

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WEST COAST RAND
WORKING PAPERS

(Returned by RAND
to DOD, 18 Jun 71)

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<u>TITLE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>	<u>TITLE/SUBJECT</u>
EVOLUTION OF THE WAR US/GVN Relations 1963 - 1967			
PART I			
22-25			

2 Jul 71

Partial text of a cablegram, June 24, 1964, from Adm. U.S. Grant Sharp, Commander in Chief, Pacific, to the State Department reporting on a meeting between Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Maj. Gen. Nguyen Khanh, then South Vietnamese Premier, on May 30, 1964.

34-35

2 Jul 71
Khanh Given Only 50-50 Chance
of Retaining Power. Partial text
of a State Department cablegram
to the U.S. Embassy in Saigon,
Aug. 14, 1964.

35-38

Taylor Called Resignation
Insufficient to List Mortise.
Partial text of a cablegram from
Ambassador Maxwell D. Taylor in
Saigon replying to a State Depart-
ment cablegram of Aug. 14, 1964.

SUB-PART VOLUME PAGE TITLE

C. 9. (a)

EVOLUTION OF THE WAR
US/GVN Relations 1963-1967

PART I

42-43

2 Jul 71

"Saigon Politicians Prod Conflict
Belongs to U. S." Partial text of a
cablegram from Ambassador
Maxwell D. Taylor to Secretary of
State Dean Rusk as Taylor was
leaving Saigon for consultations
in Washington on Sept. 6, 1964.

43-45

2 Jul 71

Westmoreland's Correct Way
South Vietnam's Officer Corps.
Partial text of a memorandum by
Gen. William C. Westmoreland,
Commander of U.S. Forces in
Vietnam, to Ambassador
Maxwell D. Taylor, apparently in
early September 1964.

U.S. VIETNAM RELATIONS,
1945 - 1957 -- 47 VOLUMES

ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

WEST COAST RAND
WORKING PAPERS

(Returned by RAND
to DCI 19 Jun 71)

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C. 9. (b) EVOLUTION OF THE WAR
US/GVN Relations: 1963 - 1967

PART II

12-14

6 Jul 71

Excerpts from the text of a report
to Washington from Ambassador
Henry Cabot Lodge in Saigon on
meeting with Premier Nguyen Cac
Ky on March 22, 1966.

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6 Jul 71
Bunker's Plan For War in '67.

Excerpts from the text of a paper
transmitted to Washington by
Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker,
titled "Blueprint for Vietnam,"
in August 1967.

1831

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Newspapers Profile of Materials From The Pentagon Papers

1. Newspaper: The Washington Post

2. Dates of Publication: On 14, 15 and 16 June The Washington Post printed a series of articles which quoted from and commented on articles published previously by The New York Times relating to the Pentagon Study. The Washington Post began publishing its own series of articles on the Pentagon Study on 18 June and continued through 4 July.

3. Description of Articles: The series of articles in the Post consisted of narrative commentary on the Pentagon Papers utilizing frequent direct quotations purported to have come from the Pentagon Papers. No separate documents were published. Washington Post staff writers contributing to the series, according to bylines, were: Chalmers M. Roberts, Murray Karder, Don Oberdorfer, and Bernard Nossiter.

4. Listing of Published Documents: Unlike The New York Times series, The Washington Post articles contained no separately printed documents.

5. Sources of Documents: Research has not yet been undertaken to match up document excerpts quoted in the narrative texts with their possible sources (47 volumes or Rand Working Papers). If such research is required, it would call for a lengthy effort of attempted identification due to a general vagueness of titles of actual documents excerpted and the admixture of document texts with the narrative. However, an initial scan of the narratives indicates that The Washington Post did not have source materials not available to The New York Times. This apparent commonality of source materials tends to be confirmed by the inventories of materials furnished to the Courts by The New York Times and The Washington Post.

THIS INFORMATION IS THE RESULT OF BIBLIOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ACCOMPLISHED AS OF 7 SEPTEMBER 1971. CORRECTIONS AND/OR ADDITIONS WILL BE MADE AS CONTINUING RESEARCH WARRANTS.

7/12/71

Airtel

1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall
1 - Mr. J. R. Waggoner
1 - Mr. ██████████

To: SAC, WFO (63-11613)
From: Director, FBI (63-74060)

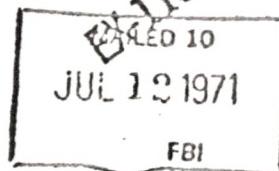
(MC LEK)
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

On 7/6/71, Robert C. Mardian, Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division (AAG, ISD), furnished a copy of transcription of recording made by J. Fred Buzhardt, General Counsel, Department of Defense (DOD), on 7/2/71, dealing with leaks of information to members of the press. A copy of the transcription is being furnished for WFO. This should be thoroughly reviewed by WFO.

Mr. W. Donald Stewart, Chief, Investigations Branch, Defense Investigative Program Office, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, on 7/6/71, furnished the Bureau a copy of DOD file regarding "Ellsberg case" which Stewart had likewise furnished to AAG, ISD. This file was transmitted to AAG, ISD by cover memorandum dated 7/6/71, captioned "Daniel Ellsberg and Neil Sheehan," authored by Stewart. The file relates to three instances where articles appeared in "The New York Times" in March, 1968, containing classified information. These identified by DOD file numbers 3-63 (3/10/68 article), 3-64 (3/21/68 article) and 3-66 (3/19/68 article). Information in articles identified by numbers 3-63 and 3-64 contained data from DOD documents while the articles in file number 3-66 contained information from CIA documents.

REC-46

Enclosure



HJM:emj
(6)

SEE NOTE PAGE SIX

S JUL 13 1971

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59 JUL 14 1971
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to WFO
Re: Mc Lek
65-74060

The last paragraph of the above-mentioned memorandum of 7/6/71 stated "In regard to case 3-60, the Department of Defense requested that FBI not take action relative to case 3-64, however, it may have been misinterpreted at that time that we are requesting no action be taken relative to case 3-66. This, in fact, was not the case since this was CIA's information and we were not in a position to request that no investigation be conducted."

There has been no misinterpretation by the Bureau concerning these matters. DOD cases 3-64 and 3-66 were referred to the Bureau by DOD and handled in Bureau file [redacted] captioned "Unauthorized Disclosure of Classified Information in Articles by Neil Sheehan in 'The New York Times' issues of 3/19-21/68, Espionage - X." No active investigation was conducted by the Bureau concerning either DOD case. This was due to a decision rendered by the Department and cited in the Departmental letter 6/6/68. This decision was based on the fact that DOD could not then declassify information appearing in 3/21/68 article and had requested no investigative action be taken at that time. CIA had advised that since DOD did not desire an investigation of the disclosure to the press, CIA did not intend to pursue the matter any further. DOD desires in this matter were set forth in their letter to the Director 5/15/68. Bureau file [redacted] contains a letter from the Bureau to CIA 5/24/68 confirming information furnished by Director of Security, CIA, that CIA had noted both Sheehan articles, one containing CIA data and the other containing DOD data, and indicated they related to the same general subject matter. CIA Director of Security pointed out that in view of the lack of evidence of any desire by DOD to investigate the 3/21/68 leak as indicated in DOD letter 5/15/68, CIA did not intend to pursue the matter any further.

[redacted] With regard to the above DOD cases, Buzhardt, in the transcription, stated the FBI had come to the conclusion that Ellsberg had leaked the information. This, of course, is baseless since we conducted no active investigation.

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Airtel to WFO
Re: Mc Lek
65-74060

[] WFO should contact both Stewart and Buzhardt and inform them that there has been no misinterpretation on the part of the Bureau with regard to the above. It is noted that in DOD files 3-64 and 3-66, there is a copy of the above cited Departmental letter of 6/6/68. In addition, you should inform Buzhardt that the FBI reached no conclusion with regard to Ellsberg leaking the information in the above DOD cases.

[] During your contact with Buzhardt, subsequent to the review of the above transcription, you should seek clarification, factual information and sources of statements concerning the following items:

- [] 1. Statement that former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara is now saying that he only wanted the documents accumulated for future examination. (This indicates no analysis or history to be written.) Determine the basis for his statement; and who then made the decision to write the history of the Vietnam war. It would be interesting to find out the purpose for which this was done, if in fact Mr. McNamara did not order it.
- [] 2. Statement that CIA was wary of the operation and furnished very few documents. He should be queried concerning his source for this statement and why CIA reacted in the above manner.

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Airtel to WFO
Re: Mc Lek
65-74060

3. Statement indicating Ellsberg gave four volumes of the study relating to peace negotiations and POW negotiations to Senator J. William Fulbright. You should determine his basis for this statement and the source from which he obtained this information. It should likewise be determined whether Senator Fulbright was provided other volumes and, when this was done, and through whom, if not given to Senator Fulbright directly.
4. Indication that "New York Times" had the handwritten notes of John Pontura (Phonetic), author of the study concerning the Tonkin Gulf incident, and related documents. Ascertain full identity of Pontura and any association with Ellsberg. Ellsberg's access to the above notes and documents should be determined.
5. Statement that Sheehan authored a series of eight articles in 1968 and it has now been concluded that Ellsberg had access to all of the data Sheehan used in the articles. Although no indication given in the transcription whether the data was classified, Buzhardt did state no investigations were conducted. Determine facts leading up to above conclusions.

Airtel to WFO
Re: Mc Lek
65-74060

WFOtel 7/2/71 set forth interview of Buzhardt wherein he stated he had information relative to three additional investigations conducted on Ellsberg. The first concerned an FBI report to Justice; second, an investigation conducted at DOD and terminated by Secretary of Defense; third concerned current investigation by State Department relating to theft of State documents. Buzhardt believed copies of State documents now in possession of Senator Charles Mathias, Jr., and possibly others. Buzhardt planned to review documents being held by Senator Mathias. Determine from Buzhardt how he knows the third investigation concerning State documents relates to Ellsberg. This matter should thereafter be pursued at State Department to ascertain complete facts if it does relate to Ellsberg. Relative to the first two investigations mentioned by Buzhardt, determine whether he is referring to DOD cases 3-64 and 3-66 previously described.

Review of DOD file furnished 7/6/71 revealed no factual information tying Ellsberg to Sheehan. Only one reference was located to Ellsberg in the DOD file and the above Bureau file. This was contained in DOD memorandum 3/28/68, their file 3-66 (3/19/68 article), which attributes statement to the then Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Richard C. Steadman, that Ellsberg may have been source of information for 3/19/68 article. Dr. Leslie Gelb, then at DOD and who has been interviewed in current investigation, informed DOD investigators, on 3/26/68, as set forth in same DOD memorandum, that he very much doubted Ellsberg was the source of the information set out in the 3/19/68 article. It is noted that DOD considered Steadman as a suspect for having furnished information to Sheehan concerning another article appearing in "The New York Times" 3/10/68 as set forth in their file 3-63. (No request made of Bureau to investigate).

[redacted] WFO should determine the current location of [redacted] and arrange for his interview concerning his knowledge of Ellsberg, his associates and detailed reasons he felt Ellsberg possible source of Sheehan for 3/19/68

Airtel to WFO
Re: Mc Lek
65-74060

article. This article was captioned "U.S. Undervalued Enemy's Strength before Offense." In essence it set out fact that CIA stated U. S., prior to the Tet Offensive, underestimated enemy's strength by 50-100,000.

When in contact with Stewart, WFO should elicit any additional data in the possession of his office concerning association between Ellsberg and Sheehan and any factual information which would show Ellsberg was source of Sheehan or had access to information Sheehan used in articles as concluded by Buzhardt. Stewart has advised that he has ordered personnel file of Ellsberg, relating to employment at DOD, sent to Pentagon from St. Louis. WFO review file and furnish results in detail.

[] As pointed out above, Dr. Leslie Gelb informed DOD investigators on 3/26/68 he very much doubted Ellsberg was source for 3/19/68 article. In WFOtel 7/6/71, Brigadier General Robert G. Gard, advised that Gelb, on one occasion, expressed concern about security of project stating he was worried only about one man--Ellsberg. You should explore with Gelb at next opportunity the reason for his change of attitude toward Ellsberg during the short period of time noting this apparently took place during Summer of 1968.

NOTE:

AAG, ISD, furnished transcript of recording by General Counsel, DOD, 7/6/71. It reviewed and DOD file concerning three leaks furnished 7/6/71 reviewed. Instructions issued to WFO to obtain clarifications and facts upon which statements made.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : W. R. Wannall

SUBJECT: MC LEK
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)

1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
1 - Mr. J.P. Mohr
1 - Mr. T.E. Bishop
DATE: 7/8/71

1 - Mr. D.J. Dalbey
1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
1 - Mr. W.R. Wannall
1 - Mr. J.R. Wagoner
1 - [REDACTED]

Tolson
Sullivan
Mohr
Bishop
Brennan, T.D.
Callahan
Casper
Conrad
Dalbey
Felt
Gale
Rosen
Tavel
Walters
Singer
Beaver
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Memorandum of 7/6/71 set forth results of conference held that date (with Director's approval) between Bureau representatives and Assistant Attorney General, Internal Security Division (AAG, ISD), Robert C. Mardian and members of his staff. Mardian furnished transcript of recording by J. Fred Buzhardt, General Counsel, Department of Defense (DOD), with request it be reviewed and inquiries, as Bureau deemed necessary, be instituted. Copy of DOD file relating to this matter obtained and reviewed along with above transcript. Director instructed this be expedited.

Above transcript contains three sections. First two sections contain background information leading up to preparation of documents pertinent to this case as well as data to assist in identifying specific documents upon which "The New York Times" articles based. This phase has been pursued with Buzhardt by Washington Field Office (WFO), and WFO is continuing to follow matter with Buzhardt. Some statements attributed to him in transcript will be clarified and expanded upon by WFO such as statement that former Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara now saying he only wanted documents accumulated for future examination indicating no analysis or history to be written; Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was wary of operation and furnished very few documents; and "The New York Times" in possession of handwritten notes of person who wrote "Tonkin Gulf Document" which has not yet appeared in "The New York Times." Details concerning the above will be obtained for further evaluation and any significance for future investigation.

Section 3 of the transcript contains recollections of Buzhardt concerning data in DOD files regarding Daniel Ellsberg and his relation to other leaks of sensitive information to press. His memory is faulty as can be seen from following information.

Enclosure J1116

REC 107-1111-363

65-74060

JUL 12 1971

1 - 105-173866 (Sheehan)

CONTINUED - OVER

HJM: dgo 54 JUL 15 1971 1/10

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Memorandum, W.R. Wannall to Mr. C.D. Brennan
Re: MC LEK
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)
65-74060

Buzhardt stated two cases were opened in 1968 by DOD based on two articles in "The New York Times" by Neil Sheehan. These were referred to the Bureau, and the FBI came to the conclusion Ellsberg leaked the information. This, of course, is a false assumption on the part of Buzhardt. These cases relate to information in Bureau file 105-173866 concerning articles by Sheehan in "The New York Times" on 3/19/68 and 3/21/68 which, in fact, were referred to the Bureau by DOD. No active investigation was conducted, however, based on the desires of the AAG, ISD. This was due to the fact that DOD would not declassify documents upon which 3/21/68 article based and CIA did not desire further investigation regarding 3/19/68 article which was based upon CIA documents since information in both articles generally related to the same subject matter. A review of Bureau file concerning these two articles and the DOD file which was furnished to the Bureau 7/6/71 revealed one reference only to Ellsberg. The then Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard C. Steadman was interviewed by DOD representatives, and their memorandum of 3/28/68 attributed statements to Steadman that Ellsberg may have been the source of information for the 3/19/68 article. The above DOD file contains a cover memorandum dated 7/6/71 showing that Steadman had been considered a DOD suspect as a source of a Sheehan article in "The New York Times" 3/10/68. No investigation concerning this has been requested of the Bureau.

Buzhardt further stated that a series of eight articles by Sheehan appeared in 1968 and it has now been concluded that Ellsberg had access to all data Sheehan wrote in the articles. He further stated none of the cases were investigated. None of the matters were referred to the Bureau, and Buzhardt will be requested for details as to how DOD concluded Ellsberg had access to data used by Sheehan.

Transcript further set forth that in 1969 or 1970 Rand reported two security violations by Ellsberg which were investigated by the Bureau; however, the disposition was unknown. The only records available concerning security violations by Ellsberg, reported to the FBI by Rand, are those developed during the current investigation by our Los Angeles Office. They occurred in 1969 and 1970 and have been completely reported to the Department.

Memorandum, W.R. Wannall to Mr. C.D. Brennan
Re: MC LEK
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)
65-74060

Buzhardt went on to say that in 1970, Sheehan wrote two articles in "The New York Times," one of which was very embarrassing to the U. S. Government. These related to a Vietnamese by the name of "Truc" (phonetic). He stated investigation was conducted by State Security and that a Charles Cooke of the U.S. Department of State (USDS) gave documents to Ellsberg in the first instance and in the second instance allowed Ellsberg to peruse documents at USDS. He had been told by DOD investigators a statement by Cooke concerning this was contained in USDS files.

WFO report 7/1/71 sets forth details of investigation conducted by USDS concerning above incident. It is noted the Vietnamese was named Tran Ngoc Chau. The information concerning Chau was furnished to Ellsberg, a Rand employee, by Charles M. Cooke under instructions of Undersecretary of State Elliot Richardson on two occasions. An article appeared in "The Evening Star" on 3/26/70, authored by James Doyle relating to the Chau case. Cooke indicated to USDS investigators that he suspected Ellsberg had given the data to Doyle.

A review of DOD file furnished 7/6/71 revealed no factual information tying Ellsberg with Sheehan or showing any factual basis for considering him as a suspect in the DOD leak cases. One item of which the Bureau must take cognizance is a statement in the cover memorandum transmitting the file to the AAG, ISD that the FBI may have misinterpreted a DOD request that no action be taken in the case regarding the 3/21/68 article by Sheehan as also including investigation concerning the CIA information in the 3/19/68 article by Sheehan. As previously pointed out, CIA desired no further investigation, principally because DOD did not desire to declassify their information and AAG, ISD, concurred. Even though DOD has copies of AAG, ISD, letter 6/6/68 stating no further investigation was desired concerning the above two articles, both W. Donald Stewart, Chief, Investigations Branch, Defense Investigative Program Office, who authored the statement concerning the alleged misinterpretation by the FBI, and Buzhardt will be informed that there was no misinterpretation by the Bureau in order that the record can be set straight. A letter also will be forwarded to AAG, ISD, in this vein.

Memorandum, W.R. Wannall to Mr. C.D. Brennan
Re: MC LEK
(NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE)
65-74060

ACTION:

1. If approved, attached letter will be forwarded to the AAG, ISD, informing him that there has been no misinterpretation by FBI with regard to investigation regarding the March, 1968, articles by Sheehan, and referring him to Department letter of 6/6/68. Erroneous statements by Buzhardt will be pointed out.

2. WFO will be separately instructed to:

a. Inform both Stewart and Buzhardt that there has been no misinterpretation by FBI regarding above-cited investigations to set the record straight.

b. Will be instructed to obtain from Buzhardt clarification and additional factual data in his possession to back up statements in the transcript outlined above. WFO will be instructed to furnish recommendations for further investigation.

c. Will be instructed to locate and interview Richard C. Steadmen who, in 1968, provided name of Ellsberg as possible source for Sheehan article of 3/19/68.

D.S.W.
JG

W.C.B.

J

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F B I

Date: JUL 6 1971

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

AIRTEL

(Priority)

REC 107
W.W.

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (65-74060)

FROM: SAC, WFO (65-11613) (P)

MC LEK NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies of an LHM and two copies each for Boston, Los Angeles and New York. LHM is captioned "DANIEL ELLSBERG, ESPIONAGE - X" and dated as above.

The enclosed LHM contains two FD-302s.

1. An interview with J. FRED BUZHARDT, General Counsel, Department of Defense, on 6/29/71, and containing results of an examination of a 47 volume set of the study "United States - Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967", which was returned to the Department of Defense by Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California. Check of the volume was requested in LA teletype to the Bureau 6/26/71.

2. An interview with General ROBERT E. PURSLEY on 6/29/71, regarding an extra volume of the above study, Volume IV, A4, found in the safe of the Military Assistants to the Secretary of Defense.

REC 107

65-74060-353

12 JUL 12 1971

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NAT. SEC.
MURKIN
MURKIN

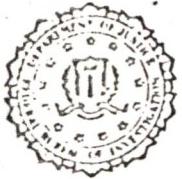
- (2) - Bureau (Enc. 5)
2 - Boston (65-5236) (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - Los Angeles (105-27952) (Enc. 2) (RM)
2 - New York (65-25641) (Enc. 2) (RM)
1 - WFO

CAR:csr
(9)

5 JUL 13 1971

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C. 20535

July 6 1971

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

DANIEL ELLSBERG
ESPIONAGE - X

1 : 10 : 0 353
ENCLOSURE

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1

Date of transcription

6/30/71

J. FRED BUZHARDT, General Counsel of the Department of Defense (DOD), Pentagon, furnished a 47 volume set of the "United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967" study for examination. Mr. BUZHARDT said the set had been received by the DOD from the Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, California.

Volume V A, volume 1, contained in two blue paper covers, one front, the other back, was secured by three fasteners. Each fastener consisted of a screw inserted through the front of the volume and threaded into a receptacle which had been inserted through the rear of the volume. The volume differed from others in the following respects:

1. The first page of the volume was a blank sheet of white paper with a tab on the outer edge which contained the printed words, "V, Justification of the War, Public Statements".

Hand written across the center of the page, in ink, was the inscription, "VA, Volume 1". The inscription identified the volume and was located so as to be visible through a cutout on the front cover.

It is noted that this page is similar in design to a number of other pages found throughout the volumes and used to caption and separate various sections of the volumes.

2. Page two of the volume, as the first page in the other volumes examined, contained the title of the volume, "Justification of the War, Public Statements, A. Truman Administration, B. Eisenhower Administration, C. Kennedy Administration".

The page also contained a copy count of the pages contained in the volume, Stamp "Group I", excluding automatic downgrading and declassification and Rand control number TS-3475-A.

Interviewed on 6/29/71 at ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA File # WFO 65-11613

by

SA

Date dictated

6/30/71

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

The volume was classified "Top Secret-Sensitive".

Volume IV A 5 of the study is bound in the manner described above. It was noted on examination that of the three fasteners binding the volume only the top fastener was secured through the volume to the paper cover on the back of the volume. The middle fastener was secured through the volume to the last page of the volume but torn loose from the back cover. The bottom fastener was also secured through the volume to the last page of the volume but was not attached to the back cover. The eyelet on the back cover for this fastener was frayed but still serviceable.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 6/30/71

Brigadier General ROBERT E. PURSLEY, Military Assistant to the Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense (DOD), advised that on "that Sunday" (June 13, 1971), he personally checked the contents of the safe in the office of the Military Assistants to the Secretary of Defense. The safe contained one complete set of the 47 volume study, "United States-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967", plus one additional copy of Volume IV, A4, of the study.

General PURSLEY was unable to explain the presence of the second copy of Volume IV, A4 in the safe. He did not know if it indicated some other set had been shorted that volume or an extra copy of the volume had been printed.

General PURSLEY stated the 48 volumes in the safe were turned over to the Correspondence and Directives Division, Office of the Secretary of Defense, DOD.

On 6/29/71 at ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA File # WFO 65-11613

by SA [redacted]

Date dictated 6/30/71

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

B7c 4 353 5

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JULY 2 1971

TELETYPE

REC'D BY CODE

9:30PM IMMEDIATE 7-2-71 DLE

TO DIRECTOR (65-74862) CATTIN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE
X DIVISION
BOSTON
LOS ANGELES
NEW YORK
FROM WASHINGTON FIELD (65-11613)

Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Rouse	
Mr. Bremer	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Delaney	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Wallace	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Denver	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

WPA/JG

INC LEX, NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE.

DAILY SUMMARY JULY TWO, INSTANT.

J. FRED BUZHARDT, GENERAL CONSUL, DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE
DOD, FURNISHED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION ON INSTANT DATE
DURING INTERVIEW HE HAD PREVIOUSLY REQUESTED. HE INDICATED
INFORMATION WAS COMPILED DURING DOD PREPARATION FOR SUITS
AGAINST "NEW YORK TIMES" (TIMES) AND "WASHINGTON POST" (POST)
AND THAT ROBERT C. MARDIAN, ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL,
INTERNAL SECURITY DIVISION, IS PRIVY TO THE INFORMATION.

AFTER EXAMINING THE TASK FORCE STUDY MATERIAL IN POSSESSION
OF THE TIMES AND POST, BUZHARDT HAS CONCLUDED DANIEL ELLSBERG
COPIED A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THIS MATERIAL FROM THE
PRELIMINARY DRAFT CALLED "COPY ONE OF FIVE COPIES" WHICH IS

END PAGE ONE

60JUL131973

MR. SULLIVAN FOR THE DIRECTOR

65-74860-5
JUL 6 1971

WFO 65-11613

PAGE TWO

THE THIRTY EIGHT VOLUME SET OF PAPERS RECOVERED FROM RAND CORPORATION, WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDC), AND SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA, OFFICES AND THAT ELLSBERG GAVE THE NEWSPAPERS THE INDICES OF THESE VOLUMES. CONCLUSIONS BASED ON FACT THAT WHEN NEWSPAPERS FURNISHED DOD THEIR CHRONOLOGY OF DOCUMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH RECENT COURT CASES THEY GAVE NUMBERS AND VOLUMES WHICH CONNECTED TO THE WORK DRAFT SET OF THIRTY EIGHT VOLUMES. SOME OF THESE NUMBERS WERE CHANGED IN THE FORTY SEVEN VOLUME COMPLETED SET AND THE NUMBERS FURNISHED BY THE NEWSPAPERS DID NOT RELATE TO THE NUMBERS IN THE FORTY SEVEN VOLUME SET.

IN CONNECTION WITH THE THIRTY EIGHT VOLUME PRELIMINARY DRAFT GENERAL ROBERT HIXON, FORMER MILITARY ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (SOD) HAS SINCE LOCATED TWO SETS OF COLOR CODED PAGES HE HAD PREVIOUSLY PREPARED DISCLOSED DISPOSITION OF THE FIVE COPIES OF THE DRAFT. THESE PAGES ARE NOW IN THE OFFICE OF SOD AND AVAILABLE FOR REVIEW. HIXON IS PRESENTLY ASSIGNED TO JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF.

END PAGE TWO

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WFO 65-11613

PAGE THREE

COMMENTING ON THE FORTY SEVEN VOLUME SET, BUZHARDT SAID THE FIRST FIVE VOLUMES CONTAINED THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF PRESIDENTS TRUMAN, EISENHOWER, KENNEDY, AND JOHNSON. IN PART FIVE OF THE STUDY DOCUMENTS CALLED "INTERNAL DOCUMENTS" OF THE TRUMAN, EISENHOWER, AND KENNEDY ADMINISTRATIONS, ARE SET FORTH IN ELEVEN VOLUMES. HOWEVER, THERE IS AN OBVIOUS OMISSION IN PART FIVE. IT DOES NOT CONTAIN THE "INTERNAL DOCUMENTS" OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION.

BUZHARDT SAID THE TIMES DISCLOSURES OF JUNE THIRTEEN THROUGH FIFTEEN, LAST, CONTAINED EXCERPTS FROM THE "INTERNAL DOCUMENTS" OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION AND WERE QUOTED IN FIFTEEN NEWSPAPER PAGES. THE TIMES IN CONNECTION WITH THE RECENT NEW YORK SUIT TO STOP PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS ADVISED DOD IT HAD IN ITS POSSESSION "INTERNAL DOCUMENTS" OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION. BUZHARDT HAS CONCLUDED THAT THERE MUST HAVE BEEN A COMPILATION OF "INTERNAL DOCUMENTS" OF JOHNSON'S

END PAGE THREE

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WFO 65-11613

PAGE FOUR

ADMINISTRATION JUST HAS HAD BEEN PREPARED FOR THE OTHER ADMINISTRATIONS STUDY BUT DOD HAS NO RECORD OF SUCH COMPILATION. AMONG DOCUMENTS FOUND BY DOD IN THIS EVALUATION WERE DOCUMENTS MOVED FROM RAND CORPORATION, SANTA MONICA, WHICH INCLUDED TWO BLACK NOTEBOOKS IN LOOSELEAF BINDERS, TWO BROWN NOTEBOOKS, AND ONE ONE INCH THICK STACK OF LOOSE PAPERS. COMMENTING ON THE TWO BLACK NOTEBOOKS, BUZHARDT DID NOT KNOW IF THEY WERE IDENTICAL WITH SO CALLED "SIMONS PAPERS" DISCRIBED IN RECENT LOS ANGELES OFFICE TELETYPE AND IS HAVING THIS MATTER RESOLVED. BUZHARDT NOTED THAT CHECK OF THE "INTERNAL DOCUMENTS" OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION CAN BE FOUND SCATTERED IN THESE NOTEBOOKS AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS RECOVERED FROM RAND CORPORATION. HE EMPHASIZED THE BELIEF THAT THERE MUST HAVE BEEN A COMPILATION MADE BECAUSE OF THE PUBLICATION BY THE TIMES OF FIFTEEN PAGES OF THIS MATERIAL. ADDITIONALLY HE OBSERVED THAT NONE OF THAT MATERIAL RECOVERED BY DOD FROM RAND'S WDC AND SANTA MONICA

END PAGE FOUR

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OFFICES CONTAINED JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION "INTERNAL DOCUMENTS"
EXCEPT THOSE MENTIONED ABOVE.

BUZHARDT SAID WHEN DOD DISCOVERED IT HAD NO COMPILATION
OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION "INTERNAL DOCUMENTS" IT CHECKED
FOR DOD COPIES OF THESE DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED BY THE TIMES AND
FOUND THAT COPIES OF TWENTY OF THE FORTY FIVE DOCUMENTS
PUBLISHED WERE IN THEIR FILES. BUZHARDT SAID THIS CHECK WAS
NECESSARY IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH CLASSIFICATION FOR THE DOCUMENTS.

BUZHARDT SAID HE TALKED WITH LESLIE GELB ON JUNE FOURTEEN,
LAST, ABOUT PUBLICATION OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION "INTERNAL
DOCUMENTS." THE DOCUMENTS WERE NOT IN THE COMPLETED STUDY OR
AVAILABLE ELSEWHERE. GELB SAID ALL DOCUMENTS HAD BEEN RETURNED
TO THE CONTRIBUTORS BUT DOD HAS NO RECORD OF ANY RETURN.

BUZHARDT CONCLUDED THERE IS POSSIBLY A COMPILATION OF
ORIGINAL "INTERNAL DOCUMENTS" CONSISTING OF CABLES, MEMORANDA,
BOTH FINISHED AND UNFINISHED OF THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION

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WHICH HAS YET TO BE ACCOUNTED FOR.

BUZHARDT SAID HE LEARNED FROM GELB THAT SOME TIME PRIOR TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE NIXON ADMINISTRATION THOSE INVOLVED IN THE TASK FORCE STUDY WERE INSURED OF THE ATTEMPT OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TOWARD THE STUDY AND WITH APPROVAL FROM SOD, A DECISION WAS MADE TO REMOVE THE ENTIRE PROJECT, INCLUDING DRAFTS AND BACKUP DOCUMENTS, FROM THE PENTAGON TO RAND'S WDC OFFICE. GENERAL HIXON, PRIOR TO THAT TIME, HAD BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN CONTROL OVER DOCUMENTS BUT NO INVENTORY OF THE MASS SHIPMENT OF MATERIAL TO RAND'S OFFICE WAS MADE BY ANYONE AT DOD AND NO INVENTORY WAS MADE AT RAND'S WDC OFFICE OF THE MATERIAL.

BUZHARDT SAID THE MISSING DOCUMENTS MAY HAVE BEEN AMONG THOSE DOCUMENTS REMOVED FROM DOD IN THE MASS TRANSFER OF THE PROJECT TO RAND'S WDC OFFICE. HE DOES NOT KNOW IF ELLSBERG CARRIED THEM OFF OR WHETHER THEY MAY HAVE BEEN AMONG THE PRIVATE PAPERS OF PAUL WARNEKE, MORTON HALPERIN, AND LESLIE GELB, WHICH

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WERE REMOVED TO RAND'S WDC OFFICE AND ARE NOW STORED IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

BUZHARDT SAID DOD HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF THE CONTENTS OF THE ABOVE PRIVATE PAPERS. HE, WITH HALPERIN, WAS UPSET WHEN DOD RECOLLECTED THE TASK FORCE DOCUMENTS FROM RAND CORPORATION.

HALPERIN IS NOW WORKING ON A PART TIME BASIS FOR SENATOR GEORGE S. MC GOVERN OF SOUTH DAKOTA. BUZHARDT PLANS TO GET PERMISSION TO EXAMINE THE DOCUMENTS NOW AT NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

BUZHARDT ADVISED THAT HE HAS INFORMATION RELATIVE TO THREE ADDITIONAL INVESTIGATIONS CONDUCTED ON ELLSBERG. THE FIRST CONCERNED AN FBI REPORT TO THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE. THE SECOND AN INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED AT DOD AND TERMINATED ON ELECTION OF SOD. BUZHARDT SUGGESTED DETAILS ON THE SECOND INVESTIGATION AVAILABLE FOR REVIEW. THE THIRD CONCERNED A CURRENT INVESTIGATION AT THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE. REGARDING CURRENT INVESTIGATION OF THE THEFT OF STATE DEPARTMENT DOCUMENTS,

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EIGHT

BUZHARDT BELIEVES COPIES OF THESE DOCUMENTS ARE NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF SENATOR CHARLES MC C. MATHIAS, JR., OF MARYLAND, AND POSSIBLY OTHERS, AND HE PLANS TO REVIEW THE DOCUMENTS BEING HELD BY SENATOR MATHIAS. HE CONSIDERED THIS AN IMPORTANT MATTER BECAUSE HE BELIEVES THE MATERIAL IN THESE DOCUMENTS WILL EVENTUALLY FIND THEIR WAY INTO THE NEWSPAPERS.

BUZHARDT SAID DOD IS CURRENTLY MAKING AN EVALUATION RE DECLASSIFICATION OF DOCUMENTS INVOLVED IN THE TASK FORCE STUDY AND A DECISION IS EXPECTED IN ABOUT TWO WEEKS.

WFO WILL CONTACT GENERAL HIXON FOR INFORMATION REGARDING DESCRIPTION OF THE THIRTY EIGHT VOLUME SET AND WILL MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH BUZHARDT FOR RESULTS OF DECLASSIFICATION STUDY OF PERTINENT DOCUMENTS, EVALUATION OF "SIMONS PAPERS" AND EFFORTS TO LOCATE COMPILATION OF JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION "INTERNAL DOCUMENTS." P

END

MR. BRENNAN

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NRC12 MF CODE

JUL 1 1971

8:52PM IMMEDIATE 7-1-71 ALII
TO DIRECTOR (65-7426?)

TELETYPE

ATTENTION: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

LOS ANGELES [REDACTED]

BOSTON (65-5235)

NEW YORK (65-25641)

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD (65-11613) 7P

Mr. Callahan
Mr. Hines
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Galloway
Mr. Cooper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. J. D. S.
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gandy
Mr. Rozen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Vining
Mr. ...
Mr. ...
Mr. ...
Mr. ...
Miss ...

unst
Napierd

MC LEX - NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE. SUMMARY TEL.

HENRY E. LOFDAHL, OFFICE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE (OSD), ADVISED ON JULY ONE INSTANT THAT EXTRA VOLUME IVAFOUR AT PENTAGON IN SAFE OF ADMIRAL DAN MURPHY NOT PART OF FORTY SEVEN VOLUME QUOTE HISTORY OF THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS ON VIETNAM POLICY UNQUOTE (MC NAMARA STUDY): STATED THAT WHEN GENERAL ROBERT A. PURSLEY REMOVED A SET OF MC NAMARA STUDY FROM MURPHY'S SAFE TO BE SENT TO WHITE HOUSE, PURSLEY ADVISED LOFDAHL THIS VOLUME NOT PART OF MC NAMARA STUDY. LOFDAHL, HOWEVER, AGREED TO HAVE THE VOLUME EXAMINED BY APPROPRIATE OSD OFFICE AND IN EX-100 REC-21 74060-7167 DETAILS OF CONTENTS THIS VOLUME.

17 JUL 7 1971

REGARDING SO CALLED QUOTE SIMONS PAPERS UNQUOTE (COLONEL WILLIAM E. SIMONS, AIR FORCE, ASSISTANT FOR POLICY AND MANAGEMENT SYSTEMS), LOFDAHL ADVISED THIS PORTION OF

END PAGE ONE

7-12-1971 cc: ISD

ALL DATA deleted

65-74060

jmh

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MATERIAL OBTAINED FROM RAND, SANTA MONICA, ON JUNE EIGHTEEN LAST, REMAINS AT PENTAGON IN SEALED CARTON. LOFDAHL AGREED TO HAVE THIS MATERIAL COMPARED WITH PAST ARTICLES AND THOSE CURRENTLY APPEARING IN QUOTE THE NEW YORK TIMES UNQUOTE (TIMES), AFTER WHICH RESULTS WILL BE FURNISHED TO WFO.

REGARDING THE ONE HUNDRED SIXTY SEVEN PAGE DOCUMENT ENTITLED QUOTE WESEG (WEAPONS SYSTEMS EVALUATION GROUP) COMMAND AND CONTROL OF THE TONKIN GULF INCIDENT FOUR AND FIVE, AUGUST, NINETEEN SIXTY FOUR UNQUOTE, (TONKIN GULF REPORT), DATED FEBRUARY TWENTY SIX NINETEEN SIXTY FIVE, LOFDAHL ADVISED TWO COPIES HAD BEEN FURNISHED TO THE QUOTE HILL UNQUOTE SAME DATE AS FORTY SEVEN VOLUME MC NAMARA STUDY FURNISHED. LOFDAHL STATED THAT TO DATE, NOTHING HAS APPEARED IN TIMES SERIES FROM CONTENTS THIS REPORT. LOFDAHL AGREED TO HAVE COMPARISON MADE OF FUTURE TIMES RELEASES WITH THIS REPORT TO DETERMINE IF TIMES HAS INFORMATION FROM THIS DOCUMENT.

COLONEL WILLIAM E. SIMONS, SUPRA, ADVISED AS FOLLOWS
ON JUNE THIRTY LAST, AND ON INSTANT DATE: SIMONS HAS NO
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RECOLLECTION OF TWO BLACK NOTEBOOKS RETURNED TO DOD FROM RAND CORPORATION, SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA, AND DESCRIBED IN LOS ANGELES TELETYPE TO BUREAU ON JUNE TWENTY NINE LAST. SIMONS WAS THE AUTHOR OF THREE VOLUMES OF THE TASK FORCE STUDY CAPTIONED, QUOTE MILITARY PRESSURES AGAINST THE NORTH UNQUOTE, CONTAINED IN VOLUME IVCTWO, A,B,C. SIMONS JOINED THE TASK FORCE STUDY GROUP AT THE PENTAGON IN AUGUST NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN, WHERE HE SPENT TWO MONTHS AND THEN RETURNED TO RAND'S OFFICE AT SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA, TO CONTINUE WORK ON THE TASK FORCE STUDY. IN OCTOBER OR NOVEMBER NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN, DOCUMENTS NEEDED FOR ADDITIONAL WORK ON THE STUDY WERE MAILED TO HIM IN SANTA MONICA. SIMONS HAD PREVIOUSLY READ THESE DOCUMENTS BUT NEEDED THEM FOR ADDITIONAL STUDY TO COMPLETE HIS PART OF THE PROJECT. AT NO TIME DID THE NUMBER OF THESE DOCUMENTS EXCEED ABOUT TWO HUNDRED ITEMS AND THEY WERE CONTAINED IN A FOLDER FASTENED WITH A CLASP AND POSSIBLY ALSO CONTAINED IN A NOTEBOOK. SIMONS COMPLETED WORK ON THE PROJECT IN FEBRUARY NINE-

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TEEN SIXTY EIGHT, AND RETURNED TO THE PENTAGON WITH HIS DRAFT OF THE STUDY UNDER A COURIER LETTER. HE IS NOT CERTAIN WHETHER HE BROUGHT THE DOCUMENTS CHARGED TO HIM AT RAND'S SANTA MONICA OFFICE WITH HIM UNDER THE COURIER LETTER ON RETURN TO THE PENTAGON OR IF THE DOCUMENTS WERE RETURNED LATER BY MAIL TO THE PENTAGON. HE IS CERTAIN, HOWEVER, THAT THESE DOCUMENTS WERE RETURNED TO THE PENTAGON. DANIEL ELLSBERG HAD ACCESS TO THE DOCUMENTS USED BY SIMONS WHILE AT RAND'S SANTA MONICA OFFICE, BUT SIMONS HAS NO KNOWLEDGE THAT ELLSBERG EXERCISED THIS POWER. SIMONS RECALLED SEEING A REPRODUCTION IN THE NEW YORK TIMES OF A DRAFT OF A CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION ON THE TONKIN GULF EPISODE DATED AROUND MAY NINETEEN SIXTY FOUR. THIS ITEM WAS PART OF AN APPENDIX TO HIS DRAFT AND WAS ALSO REPRODUCED AS AN APPENDIX OF VOLUME IVCTWOB. SIMONS RECALLED THAT A MEMORANDUM FROM WALT ROSTOW TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE, DATED NOVEMBER TWENTY THREE NINETEEN SIXTY FOUR, APPEARED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES. SIMONS HAD REFERRED TO THIS MEMORANDUM AS A FOOTNOTE IN HIS DRAFT. HE FELT THERE MAY HAVE BEEN OTHER REPRODUCTIONS IN THE NEW YORK TIMES WHICH HAD BEEN

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MENTIONED IN HIS DRAFT AS FOOTNOTES, BUT HE SAID THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO CHECK ORIGINAL SOURCES TO VERIFY THIS. HE SPECIFICALLY RECALLED THAT A COUPLE OF CABLES DATED AUGUST-SEPTEMBER NINETEEN SIXTY FOUR, DEALING WITH AIR OPERATIONS IN LAOS, APPEARED IN THE TIMES ARTICLES AND STATED HE IS VIRTUALLY CERTAIN THESE CABLES DID NOT APPEAR IN ANY OF THE FORTY SEVEN VOLUME TASK FORCE STUDY. HE STATED THAT HE IS ALSO CERTAIN THAT OTHER COMMUNICATIONS APPEARED IN THE TIMES ARTICLES THAT WERE NOT IN THE TASK FORCE VOLUMES, BUT COULD NOT AT THIS TIME RECALL ANY IN PARTICULAR.

FOLLOWING RECEIPT OF DOD EVALUATION OF THE SIMONS PAPERS, WFO WILL CONSIDER A RECONTACT WITH SIMONS IF WARRANTED TO CLARIFY ANY INFORMATION PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED.

FRANK A. BARTIMO, OSD, ASSISTANT GENERAL COUNSEL, FURNISHED THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION RESPONSIVE TO PRIOR WFO REQUESTS. CONCERNING THE DOD COMPARISON OF THE NEW YORK TIMES DISCLOSURES JUNE THIRTEEN-FIFTEEN, WITH THE MC NAMARA STUDY, BARTIMO AGREED TO PROVIDE IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTIONS OF THE NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLES WHICH CONTAIN

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SPECIFIC DOD NOTATIONS AND MARKINGS ON THE MARGINS IDENTIFYING INFORMATION THEREIN WITH THE VOLUMES AND PAGE NUMBERS OF THE MC NAMARA STUDY, AND WITH PORTIONS FROM THE MC NAMARA STUDY UNDERLINED. BARTIMO ADVISED THAT THIS COMPARATIVE MATERIAL WAS PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT MARDIAN AND DEPARTMENTAL ATTORNEY PAUL VICENT IN CONNECTION WITH THE SUPREME COURT CASE INVOLVING THE TIMES. BARTIMO ADVISED THAT DEFENSE DOES NOT CONTEMPLATE ANY ADDITIONAL ANALYSIS OF THIS TYPE IN THE ABSENCE OF A SPECIFIC REQUEST. INASMUCH AS WFO IS NOT IN A POSITION TO EVALUATE WHAT FURTHER ANALYSIS WOULD BE NECESSARY TO SUPPORT A PROSECUTION OF DANIEL ELLSBERG, THE BUREAU MAY DESIRE TO CHECK WITH DEPARTMENTAL ATTORNEYS TO ESTABLISH ANY ADDITIONAL NEEDS ALONG THIS LINE. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL WILL BE SUBMITTED BUREAU AND INTERESTED OFFICES.

CONCERNING THE DAMAGE ASSESSMENT INVOLVED IN THE NEW YORK TIMES DISCLOSURES TO DATE, BARTIMO ADVISED THAT ALL INTERESTED AGENCIES, INCLUDING STATE, CIA, DEFENSE, AND NSA, HAD RESPONDED AT DOD REQUEST WITH THEIR EVALUATION OF THE DAMAGE THAT COULD RESULT TO NATIONAL SECURITY BY DISCLOSURE

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OF THE MOST SENSITIVE PORTIONS OF THE MC NAMARA STUDY.

BARTIMO SAID THAT THIS INFORMATION WAS IN TURN FURNISHED DIRECTLY TO ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL MARDIAN FOR USE IN THE SUPREME COURT CASE CONCERNING THE TIMES AND THAT IT CONTINUES TO BE HELD VERY CLOSELY. BARTIMO ALSO ADVISED THAT THE NAMES OF THE INDIVIDUALS FROM THE VARIOUS AGENCIES COMPETENT TO TESTIFY REGARDING DAMAGE ASSESSMENT WERE ALSO FURNISHED TO MARDIAN. BARTIMO OBSERVED THAT THE BUREAU MIGHT DESIRE TO OBTAIN THIS INFORMATION DIRECTLY FROM THE DEPARTMENT.

GENERAL ROBERT GARD, FORMER MILITARY ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, RETURNED TO WASHINGTON, D. C. TODAY, BUT IN VIEW OF PRIOR COMMITMENTS, WILL NOT BE AVAILABLE UNTIL JULY TWO NEXT. GARD WILL BE INTERVIEWED AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY REGARDING HIS KNOWLEDGE OF THE REPRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF THE MC NAMARA STUDY.

WFO HAS APPOINTMENT WITH J. FRED BUZHARDT, GENERAL COUNSEL, DOD, AT HIS REQUEST, ON JULY TWO NEXT, IT BEING NOTED THAT HE INDICATED THAT HE MIGHT POSSESS ADDITIONAL INFORMATION OF INTEREST TO THE FBI IN CONNECTION WITH ITS INVESTIGATION OF DANIEL ELLSPERG.

END -

MSE

FBI WASH DC

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Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan
Re: Mc Lek

Neil Sheehan, correspondent of "The New York Times," and his wife have been identified as reproducing documents during 3/71, which documents believed to be the basis for "The New York Times" series. On one occasion a cab driver took Neil Sheehan from the company where the reproduction of documents was being made to the residence of Spencer Marx, half brother of Daniel Ellsberg's wife. Spencer Marx advised on 6/29/71 that he has resided Big Sur, California, since 11/70. He stated although he maintains an apartment at Cambridge, Massachusetts, it has been unoccupied to his knowledge since his arrival in California and has not been utilized by anyone. He stated the apartment has a burglar alarm system and that he has the only key. He advised he has given no one permission to enter or use his apartment. He denied knowing any individual by the name of Sheehan and advised he has no knowledge of Ellsberg's activities or the reproduction of documents used in "The New York Times" series.

Major General Edward G. Lansdale, who headed the counter-insurgency and pacification unit of the U. S. Government in Vietnam to which Ellsberg was attached, was interviewed 6/29/71, but furnished little of substance to this investigation other than his remarks regarding the personality of Ellsberg and Ellsberg's current wife. With respect to these two subjects, the General noted Ellsberg to be pro-U. S. involvement in Vietnam up until the time he became married to Patricia Marx. General Lansdale did identify John Vann, the Provisional Representative for the Administration for International Development (AID) in Vietnam as Ellsberg's closest friend while they were both assigned in that country. Earlier investigation has confirmed the

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

June 24, 1971
Date of transcription

HENRY E. LOFDAHL, Deputy Director, Correspondence and Directives Division, Office of the Secretary of Defense, Department of Defense (DOD), telephonically advised that the DOD concluded that copies of four Xerox pages, the originals of which were retrieved from Victor Publishers, Bedford, Massachusetts, were not copied from pages contained in the 38 volume blue cover set of working papers of the United States-Vietnam Relations Task Force Study, 20 volumes of which were returned to the DOD by Rand Corporation, Washington, D. C., and 18 volumes of which were returned to the DOD by Rand Corporation Santa Monica, California.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



6/23/71

Washington, D. C.

WFO 65-11613

Interviewed on _____

at _____

File # _____

by _____

Date dictated _____

SA [Redacted]

6/24/71

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JUN 28 1971

TELETYPE

NR0II WF CODED

825 PM IMMEDIATE 6-28-71 DLE

TO DIRECTOR (ATIN: DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

(65-74060)

BOSTON

NEW YORK

LOS ANGELES

FROM WASHINGTON FIELD (65-11613) 3 PAGES

(McLek)

DANIEL ELLSBERG, ESPIONAGE DASH X.

Mr. Bishop
Mr. Bremer
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Casper
Mr. Conrad
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Walters
Mr. Soyars
Mr. Beaver
Tels. Room
Miss Holmes
Miss Gandy

DAILY SUMMARY JUNE TWENTYEIGHT, INSTANT:

IN ACCORDANCE WITH BUREAU INSTRUCTIONS FRANK
BARTIMO, ASSISTANT GENERAL COUNSEL FOR SECURITY, OFFICE OF
SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WAS ADVISED THIS DATE THAT JUSTICE
DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS (PROBABLY PAUL VINCENT, LOS ANGELES)
WOULD BE IN CONTACT WITH DEFENSE GENERAL COUNSEL J. FRED
BUZHARDT OR BARTIMO REGARDING DEPARTMENTS DESIRE TO INTRODUCE
TESTIMONY IN GRAND JURY PROCEEDINGS IN LOS ANGELES THAT
ARTICLE PUBLICIZED NEW YORK TIMES JUNE THIRTEEN, FOURTEEN AND JUN 20 1971
FIFTEEN CONTAINED VERBATIM REPRINTS FROM DOD STUDY ENTITLED
QUOTE US DASH VIETNAM RELATIONS, NINETEEN FORTY FIVE DASH
NINETEEN SIXTY SEVEN UNQUOTE.

END PAGE ONE

53 JUL 8 1971

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65-74060-198-3
JUL 15

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FOR FBI INFORMATION BARTIMO WILL ADVISE THAT
BASED ON DEFENSE EVALUATION OF US DASH VIETNAM RELATIONS
DOCUMENTS AND NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLES DEFENSE IS PREPARED TO
MAKE SUCH A COMMITMENT IDENTIFYING SOME OF THE NEW YORK
TIMES ARTICLES AS REPRINTS OF THE CLASSIFIED DEFENSE
DOCUMENTS.

REGARDING LOS ANGELES REQUEST CONCERNING
IDENTIFICATION OF TWO ILL ASSEMBLED VOLUMES CONTAINED IN
NINETEEN FORTYSEVEN VOLUME VIETNAM STUDY RETURNED BY RAND
CORPORATION, SANTA MONICA, CALIFORNIA. FRANK BARTIMO ADVISED
THIS DATE THAT VOLUME QUOTE VA, VOLUME I QUOTE DOES NOT
CONTAIN A WINDOW AS DOES OTHER VOLUMES AND THAT THE PENCILLED
VOLUME DESIGNATION APPEARS ON A BLANK FIRST PAGE. BARTIMO
HAS BEEN UNABLE TO IDENTIFY THE VOLUME WERE TWO OR THREE
FACETS DO NOT SECURE THE BACK COVER. BARTIMO WILL CONTINUE
EFFORTS TO DO SO.

END PAGE TWO

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JUN 16 1971

TELETYPE

NR 02 CO CODE

4:47PM IMMEDIATE 6/16/71 TGB (GP)

TO DIRECTOR

(ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION)

WFO

FROM COLUMBIA (65-76)

UNAUTHORIZED DISCLOSURE OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION; "THE NEW YORK TIMES" SERIES CONCERNING UNITED STATES - VIETNAM RELATIONS, NINETEEN FORTYFIVE-SIXTYSEVEN. MISC - INFO CONCERNING (NATIONALITIES INTELLIGENCE).

RE BUREAU TELEPHONE CALLS TO COLUMBIA, JUNE FIFTEEN AND SIXTEEN, SEVENTYONE AND WFO TELETYPE, JUNE FIFTEEN AND SIXTEEN, SEVENTYONE.

ON JUNE SIXTEEN, SEVENTYONE, BRIGADIER GENERAL ROBERT HIXON, U.S. ARMY, PRESENTLY UNDER TRANSFER FROM EIGHT MONTH TOUR IN VIETNAM TO JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF J - THREE OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D.C., AS CONTACTED AT THE PONDEROSA CAMPGROUND, SITE THREE ZERO SEVEN,

S. HIGHWAY SEVENTEEN NORTH, MYRTLE BEACH, S.C.

HISTORY: GENERAL HIXON ADVISED DURING JUNE, SIXTYEIGHT, HE WAS TRANSFERRED FROM FORT CARSON TO THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF

END PAGE ONE

V.P.	Mr. Tolson
	Mr. Sullivan
	Mr. Mohr
	Mr. Bishop
	Mr. Brennan
	Mr. Callahan
	Mr. Casper
	Mr. Conrad
	Mr. Dalbey
	Mr. Felt
	Mr. Gale
	Mr. Rosen
	Mr. Tavel
	Mr. Walters
	Mr. Sayars
	Mr. Beaver
	Tele. Room
	Miss Holmes
	Miss Gandy

F444
55 JUN 25 1971

MR. CALHAN FOR THE DIRECTOR

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65-74060 100
JUN 22 1971
gms

CO 65-76

PAGE TWO

DEFENSE UNDER SECRETARY CLARK CLIFFORD REPLACING ROBERT GARD.
STUDY OF UNITED STATES - VIETNAM RELATIONS HAD ALREADY BEGUN AND
WAS HEADED BY LESLIE GELB, WHO HAD ACCESS TO DOCUMENTS PREPARED BY
JOHN MC NAUGHTON, WILLIAM BUNDY, FORMER SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
ROBERT MC NAMARA AND OTHERS. THESE DOCUMENTS BEING USED BY STUDY
GROUP WHICH WAS COMPLETED IN FALL OF SIXTYEIGHT.

STUDY GROUP PERSONNEL: GROUP COMPOSED OF ALL DEPT. OF DEFENSE
(DOD) PERSONNEL, BOTH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN, HEADED BY LESLIE GELB.
IDENTITIES OF OTHER MEMBERS NOT KNOWN.

SECURITY CONTROL DURING STUDY: ADVISED A WORK COPY OF THE
STUDY WAS MAINTAINED BY HIMSELF IN HIS OFFICE SAFE. AS STUDY GROUP
COMPLETED A VOLUME IT WAS ADDED TO THE WORK COPY UNDER HIS CONTROL.
HE BELIEVES HIS WORK COPY WAS NUMBERED TWO OF FIVE, AND HAD A
CONTROL NUMBER ISSUED BY CLASSIFIED CONTROL SECTION (CCS) WITHIN
THE OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE. SAID HE ASSUMED OTHER WORK
COPIES WOULD BE LIKEWISE CONTROLLED THROUGH CCS; HOWEVER HE DID
END PAGE TWO

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NOT KNOW WHO HAD THESE OTHER WORK COPIES.

WHEN STUDY COMPLETED, HIS WORK COPY, BELIEVED TO CONTAIN FORTYTHREE VOLUMES, WERE PICKED UP FROM HIS OFFICE BY UNKNOWN LT. COMMANDER U.S. NAVY AND SEVERAL ENLISTED MEN WHO WERE ASSIGNED TO GEORGE ELSEY, PRESENT HEAD OF RED CROSS AND FORMERLY SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO SECRETARY CLIFFORD. AFTER READYING STUDY FOR PRINTING, IT WAS CARRIED BY SAME PERSON TO DEFENSE PRINTING PLANT, LOCATED IN BOTTOM OF PENTAGON. AFTER STUDY PRINTED, WAS CARRIED BY SAME PERSONS TO HIS, HIXON'S, OFFICE. BELIEVES SECURITY OF WORK COPIES HANDLED THROUGH CCS AND WAS SATISFACTORY.

REPRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION: STATED SINCE NO DISIRIBUTION, DETERMINATION WAS MADE PRIOR TO STUDY BEING SENT FOR PRINTING, HE, HIXON, ORDERED TWENTYFIVE COPIES TO BE PRINTED. HIS WORK COPY WAS RETURNED FROM PRINTERS. HIS WORK COPY, ALONG WITH SEVERAL OTHER WORK COPIES, WERE THEN DESTROYED BY CCS. BELIEVES NOT ALL WORK COPIES RETURNED BUT UNKNOWN PERSONS HAVING THEM ADVISED THEY WERE DESTROYED. NO REASON FOR THEM NOT TO BELIEVE THEY WERE IN FACT DESTROYED. ONLY COLONEL PURSLEY, UNKNOWN LT. COMMANDER AND HIMSELF
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XNEW EXACT NUMBER OF COPIES PRINTED.

DECISION CONCERNING DISTRIBUTION MADE BY COLONEL ROBERT PURSLEY, PAUL WORNKE, LESLIE GELB AND WAS TOLD TO HIM. COPIES DISTRIBUTED AS FOLLOWS:

TWO TO NATIONAL ARCHIVES, ONE EACH JOHNSON AND KENNEDY LIBRARIES. ONE TO WILLIAM BUNDY. ONE TO PAUL WORNKE. ONE TO SECRETARY ROBERT MC NAMARA. ONE TO CLARK CLIFFORD. ONE TO RAND CORP., CALIF. ONE POSSIBLY TO PAUL NITZE OR UNKNOWN WHITE HOUSE STAFF MEMBER WHO SUCCEEDED GEROGE MC BUNDY. ONE POSSIBLY TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS (ISA) OR TO LESLIE GELB.

BELIEVES ONLY THESE NINE SETS WERE DISTRIBUTED AND WERE SENT OUT THROUGH CCS. REMAINING SIXTEEN SETS WERE PLACED IN PERSONAL VAULT OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE AND NOT REGISTERED WITH CCS. ADVISED ACCESS TO SECRETARY OF DEFENSE VAULT GAINED ONLY THROUGH OFFICE OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE HIMSELF, AND COMBINATION TO VAULT KNOWN ONLY TO FOUR FEMALE SECRETARIES, REPRESENTING FOUR BRANCHES OF U. S. MILITARY SERVICE.

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STATED THESE SETS SHOULD STILL BE LOCATED IN VAULT OF SECRETARY OF DEFENSE.

OBSERVATIONS: ONE. CONSIDERED OBJECTIVE OF RELEASING STUDY TO "THE NEW YORK TIMES" NEWSPAPER FOR PURPOSE OF FORCING IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF UNITED STATES FORCES FROM VIETNAM THROUGH PUBLIC ANGER AND PUBLIC DEMAND FOR WITHDRAWAL.

TWO. INDIVIDUAL OR GROUPS SEEKING PURELY MONETARY GAIN.

THREE. INTERESTED PARTIES EAGER TO ASSIST MC GOVERN-HATFIELD AMENDMENT PRESENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION BY CONGRESS.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS. AT TIME OF DISTRIBUTION, NIXON ADVISED HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY A COPY OF THE STUDY WAS SENT TO RAND CORP. CALIF. AND DID NOT KNOW WHAT SECURITY ACCOUNTING-RAND HAD IN EFFECT. STATED DAN ELLSBERG DURING NINETEEN FIFTYFIVE-FIFTYSIX WAS SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO JOHN MC NAUGHTON, INVOLVED IN PREPARING POLICY PAPERS, WHICH PAPERS USED IN THE STUDY. CONSIDERS ELLSBERG TO BE A "PAPER COLLECTOR" AND IT WOULD NOT BE OUT OF CHARACTER FOR ELLSBERG TO HAVE GIVEN STUDY TO "THE NEW YORK TIMES". ADVISED POSSIBLY ONE EXTRA VOLUME AT DOD CONTAINS INFORMATION ON

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PAGE SIX

POLICY IN WHICH ELLSBERG WAS INVOLVED AND THEREFORE NOT GIVEN TO "THE NEW YORK TIMES." FURTHER STATED WHEN STUDY FIRST APPEARED IN "THE NEW YORK TIMES", HIS IMMEDIATE REACTION CONCERNED THE COPY OF THE STUDY PROVIDED RAND CORP.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: GENERAL HIXON ADVISED ROBERT GARD ASSIGNED INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, NEW YORK CITY, WHO COULD BE LOCATED THROUGH GENERAL'S OFFICE BRANCH, DEPT. OF ARMY, WASHINGTON, D. C., COULD PROVIDE INFORMATION CONCERNING WORK COPIES USED BY STUDY GROUP. GEORGE ELSEY, PRESENT DIRECTOR OF RED CROSS, COULD PROVIDE INFORMATION CONCERNING READYING OF STUDY FOR PRINTING. FURTHER STATED PRIOR TO HIS LEAVING DOD ON TRANSFER TO VIETNAM IN NOV., SIXTYNINE, HE PREPARED ONE COPY OF MEMORANDUM ENTITLED "VIETNAM STUDY GROUP", LOCATED IN TOP DRAWER OF TWO DRAWER SAFE IN PRESENT OFFICE OF ADMIRAL DAN MURPHY, WHO REPLACED HIM. SAID MEMORANDUM EXPLAINS DISTRIBUTION OF COPIES OF STUDY AND EXISTENCE OF OTHER SIXTEEN SETS AND NUMBERING SYSTEM UTILIZED. SUGGESTED POSSIBLE RELEASE OF STUDY THROUGH XEROXING OF EITHER RAND CORP. COPY OR THEFT OF ONE OF SIXTEEN SETS MAINTAINED IN DOD VAULT.

END

GMV WASH DC FBI TO

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CC:MR. BRENNAN

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

SUMMARYDate 6-17-71

Attorney General(AG) had previously asked that General Hixon be interviewed due to his earlier assignment with responsibility for preparation and distribution of the "McNamara Study". Memo 6-16-71 pointed out Hixon on vacation, would be located and interviewed. AG was so advised by letter.

Attached summarizes interview of Hixon. He has furnished information regarding original production of volumes of the study, its dissemination and storage. In his opinion Daniel Ellsburg, the prime suspect in this matter, would not be out of character in leaking data to New York Times. Hixon furnished information regarding a memo prepared by him detailing distribution and marking system used with the finished volumes of the study. We will attempt to verify its existence and obtain a copy with results being furnished to Assistant Attorney General-Internal Security Division (Mardian).

Results of the Hixon interview are being furnished to AG by letter, a copy of which is being sent to the Deputy AG and to Mardian.

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INVENTORY OF

RAND WORKING PAPERS

WEST COAST

(Matches with NY Times Articles as are noted
in the individual entries)

9/24/71 SecClassified
in accord to UFGO
dicted 9/27/71 JMS

P51

ST-106
REC-30

6-144
NOT RECORDED

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p/v
ENCLOSURE

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

69 SEP 13 1971

TS-3151-1
#1

Black Book, Volume I

- 3 Nov 64 Project Outline: Working Group on Courses of Action in Southeast Asia
- 3 Nov 64 Draft W. P. Bundy: Conditions for Action and Key Actions Surrounding Any Decision. (N. Y. T. p. 28, 14 June 71; William Bundy Draft on Handling World and Public Opinion)
- 4 Nov 64 Forrestal, SVN, memo for Bundy - FE: Comments on your Input - II, U.S. Objectives and Stakes in South Vietnam and Southeast Asia.
- 6 Nov 64 CIA-DIA-INR Panel Draft: Sections VI, VII: Probable Reactions to Options B and C.
- 6 Nov 64 Sullivan (State) memo for W. Bundy: Courses of Action in Vietnam.
- 7 Nov 64 Draft. W. P. Bundy: III, The Broad Options
- 7 Nov 64 3rd Draft - McNaughton: Action for South Vietnam. (N. Y. T. 14 June 71, p 28: McNaughton's November Draft on Vietnam Aims and Choices)
- 7 Nov 64 Working Paper: Immediate Actions in the period prior to decision (Part VIII of the Bundy outline). (N. Y. T. 13 June 71, p 37: State Department Aide's Report on Actions Taken After Tonkin)
- 10 Nov 64 NSC Working Group Project - Courses of Action in Southeast Asia: Comments on CIA - DIA - INR Panel Draft • Section I - The Situation (U). • Also includes attachments of McNaughton's comments on Bundy draft sections VII, IX and X.
- 10 Nov 64 JCS Memo to Chairman NSC Working Group on Southeast Asia (Bundy): Comment on Draft for Part II of Project Outline on Courses of Action in Southeast Asia - "U.S. Objectives and Stakes in SVN and SEA" (S).

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- 13 Nov 64 Unidentified originator Paper re Part VI (Analysis of Option B), Section F, Likely Developments and Problems if the Communist Side Engaged in Major Retaliation at Some Point.
- 14 Nov 64 Memo from JCS, Mustin to Chairman NSC Working Group (Bundy): Additional Material for Project on Courses of Action in Southeast Asia (U)
(N.Y.T. 14 Jun 71, p 29: View of Chief's Representative on Options B and C).
- 14 Nov 64 State telegram 1506 PM EMB SAIGON (DTG 140520Z) Re SEABORN TRIP POSTPONEMENT UNTIL Nov 30.
- 16 Nov 64 Rostow Memo to McNamara: Military Dispositions and Political Signals.
(N.Y.T. 15 June 71, p 35: Letter From Rostow Favoring Commitment of Troops by U.S.)
- 20 Nov 64 McNamara memo to JCS: Immediate Resumption of The Desoto Patrols
- 23 Nov 64 Rostow memo to Rust: Some Observations As We Comt to the Crunch in Southeast Asia. (N.Y.T. June 15, 1971, p. 19: Memo from Rostow Advocating Ground Troops and Air Attacks)
- 23 Nov 64 Rowan memo to Bundy re Bundy's draft paper re Options in SVN.
- 24 Nov 64 NSC Working Group on Vietnam: Section I: Intelligence Assessment: The Situation in Vietnam including (23 Nov 64) Memo: Possible Communist Reactions to U.S. Option C or C-Prime Measures.
- 24 Nov 64 State memo for Risk, McNamara, McCone, Wheeler, Ball and Bundy: Issues Raised by Papers on Southeast Asia.
- 26 Nov 64 Revised draft W. P. Bundy/J. McNaughton: Courses of Action in Southeast Asia.

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- ~~SECRET~~
- 27 Nov 64 State (Bundy) memo of Meeting on Southeast Asia.
(N.Y. Times, 14 June, p 28: Taylor's Briefing of
Key Officials)
- 28 Nov 64 Bundy memo for Southeast Asia Principals: Scenario
for Immediate Action Program.
- 27 Nov 64 Memo from Working Team in Saigon re Summary of
Recent MACV and CIA Cables on Infiltration.
- 29 Nov 64 Bundy Memorandum for Southeast Asia Principals.
(N.Y.T. 14 June 71, p 29: Final Draft Position Paper
Produced by Working Group)
- 6 Jan 65 Bundy Memorandum for The Secretary: Notes on The
South Vietnamese Situation and Alternatives.
- 18 Feb 65 Bundy draft: Where Are We Heading plus an Attached
note dated June 25
(N.Y.T. 15 June 71, p 19: Draft by William Bundy On
Results of Policy in '65)

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T.S. 351-5
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Black Book Volume II (Top Secret D-7691/67)

- Undated Footnotes (1 to 129,) nine pages.
- Undated "Decision Re Military Pressure Against NVN" (Chronology from 9 March 61 to 14 Dec 1964)
- Undated "Military Pressures Against North Vietnam: Action and Debate, Feb - Jun 1964," (Working Paper (9 pages) and Summary (3 pages).
- 22 Jan 64 JCS Memo for SECDEF, "Vietnam and Southeast Asia," JCSM - 46 - 64 TS Sensitive, 5 pages. (N.Y. Times, June 13, p. 35: "'64 Memo by Joint Chiefs of Staff Discussing Widening of the War")
- 18 Mar 64 JCS (M/Gen F. T. Unger) Memo to CINCPAC, "Planning Actions, Vietnam," (TS)
- 20 Mar 64 SECSTATE 1484 (For Amb Lodge from the President). (TS) (Contains interesting marginalia) (N.Y.T., 13 June, p 36: "Cable From President to Lodge on Escalation Contingencies")
- 19 May 64 JCSM 426-64, "North Vietnam Operations" TS (hand-written version)
- 25 Jul 64 Saigon Emb cable to State # 214 (TS) (N.Y.T. June 13, p. 36: "Cable from Taylor Warning on the 'March North' Campaign")
- 27 Jul 64 Vientiane Emb to State Cable # 170 (TS)
- Undated Paper titled "Proof of Attack" (concerns 8/2 and 8/4/64 Gulf of Tonkin attacks) (TS)
- 26 Jul 64 State cable # 89 to Vientiane (no subject title but on proposed strikes in Laos) (TS)

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- Undated "Tonkin Gulf Incident" (8 pages of handwritten notes giving a chronology)
- 5 Aug 64 CINCPAC msg to JCS, "Rules of Engagement". TS
- 7 Aug 64 AMEMB, Ottawa Cable to (State?), Info Saigon, (no subject line but concerns Tonkin Gulf and SEABORN contact). Early version of 8 Aug item below.
- 8 Aug 64 United States note, 8 Aug to Canadian Emb, Wash for relay to Seaborn, ICC. TS
(N.Y.T, 13 June, p 36; "U.S. Note to Canada on Points for Envoy to Relay to Hanoi")
- 8 Aug 64 State cable to AMEMB, Ottawa, Saigon: text of U.S. note (above) TS
- 7 Aug 64 State cable to AMEMB's Vientiane, London, Paris, Saigon, Bangkok, Ottawa, N. D. Moscow, Phnom Penh, AM Conger Hong Kong, USUN NY, CINCPAC Sec LIMDIS
(NYT, 14 June, p 27: "Rusk Query to Vientiane Embassy on Desirability of Laos Cease-Fire")
- 9 Aug 64 AMEMB Saigon to SECSTATE Info Vientiane, Bangkok, CINCPAC (Subj: Retaliation after Gulf of Tonkin event)
(N.Y.Times, 14 June 71, p 27: "Saigon Embassy's Response on Drawbacks in Laos Talks")
- 11 August 64 McNamara memo to William Bundy # I-36528/64
(on Rules of Engagement)
- 11 August 64 William Bundy Memo, "Next Courses of Action in SEA," Secret
(N.Y.Times, 13 June, p 36: "William Bundy Memo on Actions available to U.S. After Tonkin")
- 14 Aug 64 SACSA M 400-64 to Col J. F. Moody, Military Assistant to SECDEF, "Amb Taylor's Initial Report from South Vietnam". Secret
(N.Y.Times, 13 June, p 37: "Summary of Taylor's Report sent to McNamara by Joint Chiefs")

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- 14 Aug 64 State cable # 439 to Saigon, # 157 to Vientiane TS
- 15 Aug 64 JCS cable 7947 to CINCPAC, "Rules of Engagement" TS
- 16 Aug 64 COMUSMACV cable to CINCPAC # MAC J 34 8213 TS
"Cross Border Operations"
- 17 Aug 64 Extract from CJCS memo for SECDEF (JCSM 707-64).
(Combat Air Capability in NVN")
- 17 Aug 64 USEMB Vientiane to STATE Cable # 310 TS
- 17 Aug 64 CINCPAC cable to JCS, "Next Courses of Action in Southeast Asia," TS.
(N.Y. Times, June 13, p. 37: "Warning to Hanoi and Saigon - Pacific Commander's Evaluation of Washington's Action Scenario")
- 18 Aug 64 Saigon Emb to State cable 465 TS :
(N.Y.T., June 14, p 27: "U.S. Mission's Recommendations on Further Military Steps")
- 20 Aug 64 COMUSMACV Cable to CINCPAC and others, MAC J5 8439, "Advance Notice No. 1 to Change 3 to COMUSMACV OPLAN 37-64A. COMUSMACV OPLAN 37-64." TS
- 24 Aug 64 Asst SECDEF Memo for SECDEF, "Review of USAF Study: "Relationship of Tactical Air to Ground Forces, SEA, 1964 and 1969" TS
- 20 Aug 64 Emb, Saigon cable # 481 for State, "Joint State - Defense Message" Sec LIMDIS
- 26 Aug 64 JCS Memo for SECDEF, JCSM - 746-64, "Recommended Courses of Action - SEA" TS Sensitive
- 26 Aug 64 JCS Memo for SECDEF, JCSM 746-64, "Recommended Courses of Action - SEA" TS Sensitive
(N.Y. Times, 14 June, p. 27: "Joint Chiefs Recommendation on Military Courses of Action")

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- 26 Aug 64 State Cable # 193 to Vientiane, TS LIMDIS
(N. Y. Times, 14 June, p. 27: "Rusk Cable to Embassy in Laos on Search and Rescue Flights")
- 27 Aug 64 JCS (Office of SACSA) Memo to Mr. Wm Bundy and Mr. J. T. McNaughton, "OPLAN 34A - September Schedule"
(N. Y. Times, 13 June, p. 37: "1964 Memo from the Joint Chiefs on September's Covert Raids")
- 31 Aug 64 McNamara Memo for CJCS, "JCSM - 729-64: Target Study - NVN (S)" TS
- 29 Aug 64 Asst SECDEF (J. T. McNaughton) memo to SECDEF, "Response to JCSM-729-64; Target Study - NVN (S)." TS
- 3 Sep 64 (? McNaughton) draft (2nd), "Plan of Action for South Vietnam," TS
(N. Y. Times excerpts, 14 June, p. 27: "Plan of Action attributed to Asst Secretary McNaughton")
- 8 Sep 64 Assi SEC STATE (W. Bundy) Memo, "Courses of Action for SVN," Secret
(N. Y. Times, 14 June, p. 28: "Top Aides' Proposal to Johnson on Military Steps in Late '64")
- 9 Sep 64 State cable to Saigon, Vientiane, and Bangkok, Info others, "Joint State/Defense Message" TS Exdis
- 9 Sep 64 CJCS (CM-124-64) Memo, "Courses of Action for South Vietnam" TS
- 10 Sep 64 McGeorge Bundy NSAM 314 to SECSTATE and SECDEF . TS
(N. Y. Times, 14 June, p. 28: "Memo on Johnson's Approval of Renewed Naval Operations")
- 11 Sep 64 McGeorge Bundy's comments on question and answer pamphlet to SECDEF Conf.
- 16 Sep 64 Emb Saigon cable to DOD, CINCPAC, State TS EXDIS

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- 19 Sep 64 State cable to W.H. (Bundy), DOD, CINCPAC, CIA
(Conclusion of Amb Taylor's meeting on air and limited
ground operations, Lao corridor) TS Exdis
(N.Y. Times, 14 June, p. 29: "Report of Meeting of U.S.
Envoys to Review Operations in Laos")
- 23 Sep 64 CINCPAC Cable to JCS, Emb Saigon, COMUSMACV,
CINCPACFLT, CINCPACAF, "Desoto Patrol Ops."
Secret

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- 25 Sep 64 CINCPAC Msg to JCS (Exclusive for Wheeler), TS
- 25 Sep 64 State Cable #727 to Emb Saigon and Others, "Joint State-Defense Message" TS EXDIS
- 28 Sep 64 JCS Cable to CINCPAC, INFO Others, "Definitive Rules of Engagement Applying to LAOS" TS
- 30 Sep 64 Cyrus R. Vance Memo for McNaughton on 34A procedures
- 12 Oct 64 Emb, Saigon Msg to State, INFO others (Subject: Coordination with other embassies) TS EXDIS
- 12 Oct 64 CINCPAC Msg to JCS and others, "Use of Thai-Based US Air Forces (S)," TS
- 6 Oct 64 State Cable, "Joint State-Defense Message (NY Times, 14 June, p. 23:)"
- 6 Oct 64 State Cable to Saigon Emb, INFO others (Subject of inter-emb coordination in SEA) TS
- 3 Oct 64 State Msg to Vientiane -- Joint State-Defense Msg -- "Military Operations in Laos" SECRET LIMDIS
- 9 Oct 64 State Msg relaying Emb Saigon to State Cable on Organizing Session on Rules of Engagement Air Ops, SAR, 34A etc. (Bkg - Vientiane - Saigon coordination session)
- 10 Oct 64 Saigon Emb Msg #1080 to State (Given Terms of Reference for Bkg, Vientiane, Saigon coordination) SECRET
- Undtd Memo for Mr. Joseph A. Califano, Jr. (I-28526164), "Item for Weekly Report to the President" -- Lao Dep PM Would Like To Expand Mil Ops in the North -- SECRET
- 13 Oct 64 Emb, Vientiane to State Cable (Targets for Air Ops) TS EXDIS
- 14 Oct 64 Saigon Emb Cable #1129 to State TS

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- 13 Oct 64 McNaughton 1st Draft, "Aims and Options in SEA" TS
- 19 Oct 64 CINCPAC Msg to JCS, "Terms of Reference for SEA COORD," TS
- 21 Oct 64 McNamara Memo for CJCS, "Cross Border Operations," TS
(17 Oct) Contains McNaughton Memo to SECDEF, same subject, dated 17 Oct TS
- 27 Oct 64 McNamara Memo to CJCS, "US Search and Rescue Operation -- SEA" TS (Includes draft msg on subject)
- 23 Oct 64 McNaughton Memo to SECDEF, "US Search and Rescue Operations -- Southeast Asia" TS
- 29 Oct 64 State Cable #937 to Saigon Emb, "Logitimation [sic] of OP34A" TS EXDIS
- 27 Oct 64 JCSM-902-64 (handwritten note) TS
- 1 Nov 64 JCS Msg 1452 to CINCPAC, "Air Defense Augmentation SEA (C)" TS
- 1 Nov 64 JCS Msg to Gen. Westmoreland and Amb Taylor, TS
- 3 Nov 64 AmEmb (Taylor) Msg to OSD (Taylor's views on actions against NVN) TS EXDIS
- 29 Oct 64 OSD Msg for Amb Taylor, Saigon (Request's Taylor's views) TS
- 4 Nov 64 CJCS (Wheeler) Memo to SECDEF, JCSM-933-64, "Recommended US Courses of Action in Relation to VC Attack on Bien Hoa Airfield, 1 Nov 64" TS
- 13 Nov 64 McNamara Memo to CJCS, Subject as in 4 Nov 64
CJCS Memo above

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Items in Brown Notebook ("Vietnam Documents, TS-3193
C.I.A.") (Top Secret, Group 1)

- (12) Apr 61 Memo to President from Rostow re: Lines of Action (N.Y.T., 1 July 71, p 3 - "Memo from Rostow to Kennedy with Nine Proposals for Action") 10 items
- 27 Apr 61 Memo for President from Gilpatrick, "Program of Action for Vietnam"
- w/ incl: Task Force document, 26 Apr 61 ("A Program of Action to Prevent Communist Domination of South Vietnam")
- 3/ Annex A: "Status of Counter-Insurgency Plan for Vietnam"
- 8 May 61 "Program of Action for Vietnam" - Memo from Lansdale (N.Y.T., 1 Jul 71, p 3: "Vietnam 'Program of Action' by Kennedy's Task Force")
- w/ Attachment: Draft of 6 May 61 "A Program of Action to Prevent Communist Domination of South Vietnam"
- 8 May 61 Memo from Lansdale: "Annexes to Program of Action for South Vietnam"
(N.Y.T. 1 Jul 71, p. 3: "Vietnam 'Program of Action' by Kennedy's Task Force")
- 21 July 61 Memo for Taylor from Lansdale: "Vietnam Force Increase"
- 21 July 61 Memo for Taylor from Lansdale: "Resources for Unconventional Warfare, Southeast Asia"
(N.Y.T. 1 July 71, p. 4: "Lansdale Memo for Taylor on Unconventional Warfare")
- 3 Nov 61 Section from Taylor Report, "Evaluation and Conclusions" (N.Y.T. 1 July 71: "Evaluation and Conclusions of Taylor's Report on Vietnam" excerpts)
- 3 Nov 61 Memo for Taylor from Lansdale: "Vietnam" (from Tab K, Taylor Report, 3 Nov 61)

ENCLOSURE

Joint Action Program proposed by Vietnam - U.S.

Special Financial Groups (Staley Report, 1961) - 1567

w/ Attachment

5 Oct 61

Memo for SECDEF from DASD Williams: "Alternative
Plans for Southeast Asia

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Ellsberg Manuscript (TS 3194, CIA)
(Top Secret, Group 1) (Brown Notebook)

Notebook contains 293 pages of narrative analysis and document extracts.

List of Contents Follows:

1. Table of Contents (Part IV, B. 1, B. 2 -- Rough 1st Draft, 12/16/67 -- and "The Challenge to US -- Vietnam Policy in 1961")
2. "Theses on Vietnam"
3. "Vicious Cycles in Vietnam ..."
4. "Background to 1961"
5. "1960: Rehearsal for 1961"
6. "Priorities and U.S. Influence"
7. "The 'Presidential Program for Vietnam' of April - May 1961"
8. "The Taylor Report"

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Description: TS-3253-E (Ponturo Notes on 1961 concluding summary and comments) document consists of 51 pages

Summary - pp 1-10

- 19 Oct 61 Lesser Courses of Action Oct 61. pp 11-14
- 18 Oct 61 CINCPAC msg number 77 to JCS ref CINCPAC Short of Intervention Suggestions. pp 15-17
- 18 Oct 61 CINCPAC msg number 93 to JCS ref Taylor Visit with CINCPAC. pp 18-20
- 25 Oct 61 Msg from Saigon to State 536 ref Taylor Report. pp 21-24
- 25 Oct 61 Msg from Saigon to State 537 (excerpts) ref Taylor on Flood TF 25 Oct. p 25
- 25 Oct 61 20 Courses of Action 25 Oct 61. pp 26-29
- 27 Oct 61 Msg from Bangkok - State 620, 27 Oct 61 ref Taylor Briefing on Plans in Bangkok 27 Oct. p 30
- 2 Nov 61 20 Courses, Taylor & Felt Suggestions 2 Nov 61. pp 31 and 32
- 6 Nov 61 Draft by Col Kent, ISA: ISA on Alternative Actions Nov. pp 33-35
- 15 Nov 61 Meeting with JFK 15 Nov 61. p 36 (Same item page 41).
- 14 Nov 61 Decisions on Taylor Report: State to Saigon, NIACT 618, 14 Nov 61 for Molting, Eyes Only, cleared by JFK. p 37-38 and 39-40 (two copies of same msg).
- 1 Dec 61 Bundy on Command Arrangements 1 Dec 61. pp 42 and 43
- 7 Dec 61 SECDEF to State on Cmd, 7 Dec 61. pp 44-46. (TS)

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12 Dec 61 State Suggestion of MACV 12 Dec: State - Paris
to Sec 32, 5590, 12 Dec 61: p 47 (TS)

18 Dec 61 Rusk on MACV 18 Dec. p 48 (S)

Extract from WSEG, First Draft, "Summary of
Observations on the U.S. Command Experience in
Laos, August 1960 - May 1961," 17 October 1963
pp 49-51 (TS)

- 3 May 61 Ed Lansdale Memorandum to Members of Task Force
on Viet-Nam (TS 3253-A)
- 3 May 61 Roswell L. Gilpatric Memorandum for the President,
Subject: Program of Action for Vietnam
- 1 May 61 A Program of Action to Prevent Communist Domination
of South Vietnam pp 1-36
- 8 May 61 Letter from U.S. President J. F. K. to South Vietnam's
President Ngo Dinh Diem pp 1-4
- 10 May 61 Paper (superseded by 10/11/61 draft) on Concept for
Intervention in Vietnam pp 1-8
- 11 Oct 61 Gilpatric Memo for the record, Subj: South Vietnam
pp 1 and 2
- 3 Nov 61 Taylor's Memo to the President pp 1-3
- 8 Nov 61 Memorandum for the President from SECDEF McNamara,
subj: South Vietnam pp 1 and 2
(NYT 1 Jul 71 p 5: Conclusions of McNamara on Report
by General Taylor)
- 22 Nov 61 National Security Action Memorandum No. 111 from
Bundy to SECSTATE pp 1-3
- 27 Dec 61 Lansdale Memo for the CJCS, Subj: Vietnamese Command
Problem 1 page
- 28 Dec 61 Gilpatric letter to SECSTATE 1 page
- 18 Jan 62 Lemnitzer memo for General Lansdale, Subj: Vietnamese
Command Problem pp 1 and 2
- 27 Jan 62 SECDEF Memo to the President. (NYT 1 Jul 71 p 6:
Memo from Joint Chiefs Urging a Greater Role in South
Vietnam)

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- 13 Jan 62 JCS Memo to SECDEF dated 13 Jan 62, Subj: The Strategic Importance of the Southeast Asia Mainland (NYT 1 Jul 71 p 6: Memo from Joint Chiefs Urging a Greater Role in South Vietnam)
- 27 Jan 62 Memo from Berry to SECDEF 1 page
- 25 Jan 62 Memo to SECDEF from The Assistant Secretary of Defense (International Security Affairs) 1 page
- 27 Nov 64 Memorandum of Meeting on Southeast Asia November 27, 1964 pp 1-3

UNBOUND COLLECTION OF ITEMS NUMBER 1 THROUGH 29

Memorandum for the Secretary of Defense from Chairman, JCS, (JCSM 1005-64), Subject: Questions Concerning South Vietnam, Appendix, same subject.

EXDIS Msg to SECSTATE 1758 from AmEmb Saigon, Secret

EXDIS Msg to Amemb Saigon 1247 from State Dept (signed Ball), Secret

Memo for Secys Rusk & McNamara, Messrs. McCone, Ball, McG. Bundy and McNaughton from William P. Bundy, Subj: Cooper Materials on North Vietnamese Infiltration, w/ Attachment: Memo for Mr. William Bundy from Chester L. Cooper, (CIA), 4 Dec 64, Subj: Public Statement on VC Infiltration.
w/ Enclosure: "Infiltration of Military and Technical Personnel from North to South Vietnam, , 23 Jan 65.

Memo for SECDEF from Acting Chairman, JCS (JCSM-1042-64), Subj: Intensification of OPLAN 34A Maritime Operations
(S)

Memo for Chairman, JCS from Cyrus Vance. Subj: Intensification of OPLAN 34A Maritime Operations (S)

State Dept Memo of Conv 68695, Subj: South East Asia.

State Dept Tel to AmEmb Saigon 1312

Msg from SECSTATE to AMEMB Saigon FLASH 1347

Msg from SECSTATE to AMEMB Saigon 1355

Msg from CINCPAC to JCS

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- 28 Dec Msg from AmEmb Saigon to SECSTATE FLASH 1975
- 29 Dec 64 29 Dec 64 Memo for DepSecDef from Peter Solbert DASD(ISA); Subj: Third Country Assistance to South Vietnam.
- 29 Dec 64 Msg from SecState to Amemb Saigon 1365.
- 2 Jan 65 Memo for DepSecDef from Exec to Chairman, JCS, CM 353-65, Subj: Evaluation of Communist Reaction to Barrel Roll (S), w/ Attachment: Memo for Chairman, JCS from Dir, DIA, 31 Dec 64, Subj: Evaluation of Communist Reaction to Barrel Roll (S).
- 29 Jan 65 Memo for SecDef from Chairman, JCS, Subj: Reprisal to Significant Incidents in the RVN (S).
- 29 Jan 65 Msg from JCS to CINCPAC, Subj DESOTO Reprisal Forces (S)
- 3 Feb 65 Msg from JCS to CINCPAC, Subj: Reprisal Attack Options (S)
- Undated Msg from CINCPAC to CINCPACFLT, CINCPACAF, COMUSMACV (NMCC 12825), Subj: Flaming Dart (U)
TOP SECRET LIMDIS NOFORN
- Feb 65 Ltr to SECDEF from Dir, FBI, Feb 1, 65 w/ Encl: Foreign Political Matter - South Vietnam.
- 6 Feb 65 Memo for SECDEF from Dir, DIA, Subj: General Khanh's Alleged Neutralist Leaning ;(S)
- Feb 65 Transcript of Conversation between Mr. William Bundy and Mr. McGeorge Bundy over Secure Line TOP SECRET EXDIS
- Feb 65 Memo for Col A. J. F. Moody, Mil Asst to SECDEF from Vice Adm Mustin, Dir for Ops, JCS, (J3M 18165) SECRET w/ Encl: Memo for Director J-3, 9 Feb 65, Subj: CVAs on Station Yankee Point.

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- 12 Feb 65 Msg from JCS 005095 to CINCPAC, Subj: Reprisal Attack Options (S) TOP SECRET
- 16 Feb 65 Msg from JCS 005332 to CINCPAC Subj: Reprisal Attack Options (S) TOP SECRET
- 17 Feb 65 Msg from CINCPAC, 170217Z Feb 65 Sec 1 of 2 to JCS, Subj: Text of Assessment of Reprisal Attacks Against DRV (S)
- 17 Feb 65 Msg from CINCPAC to JCS Sec 2 of 2, same subj. TOP SECRET
- 17 Feb 65 Memo for Chairman, JCS from Robert S. McNamara, re bomb damage assessment reports (w/o attachment) SECRET
- 17 Feb 65 Draft Msg from JCS to CINCPAC unnumbered, Feb 65, Subj: Reprisal Strike (S) w/ Map: Reprisal Strike TOP SECRET
- 23 Feb 65 Memo for SECDEF from Chairman, JCS 23 Feb 65 (CM 446-65), Subj: Reprisal Strikes SECRET
w/ Enclosure: "Initial Points of Interest", SECRET
w/ Tabs 24 (Chanh Hoa, 11 Feb 65), SECRET
33 (Dong Hoi, 7 Feb 65) SECRET
39 (Chap Le - First Strike 8 Feb 65) SECRET
39 (Chap Le Second Strike 11 Feb 65) SECRET
- 17 Feb 65 Memo for Chairman, JCS from Robert S. McNamara, re bomb damage assessment reports, SECRET
w/ Attachment 2/7/65 Strike on # 33 Dong Hoi Army Barracks (S)
2/11/65 Strike on # 24 Chanh Hoa Army Barracks (S)
2/8/65 Strike on # 39, Chap Le Army Barracks (S)
- 24 Feb 65 Msg from JCS 005776 to CINCPAC 240218Z Feb 65, Subj: Warning Order Rolling Thunder III (U) w/ Incl Map: Rolling Thunder III, TOP SECRET LIMDIS
- 20 Mar 65 Msg from JCS 007484 to CINCPAC 200019Z Mar 65, Subj Report of Survey of the Military Situation in RVN (U) TOP SECRET
SENSITIVE EXCLUSIVE EXDIS

UNBOUND WORKING PAPERS

- 2 Oct 63 Memo for President "Report of McNamara-Taylor Mission to South Vietnam" (NYT 1 Jul 71, p 10:
McNamara-Taylor Report On Mission to South Vietnam)
(TS 3253-C)
- 20 Jun 64 Candel Saigon to Internal 273, "Call on PM Phom Vai...
Vientiane, (X) 1964"
- 27 Feb 68 Report of Chairman, JCS on Situation in Vietnam and MACV Force Requirements (NYT 4 July 71, p 15:
Wheeler's '68 Report to Johnson After the Tet Offensive)
(TS 3234)
- 29 Feb 68 Alternative Strategies (TS 3235)
- 12/68 Vietnam: The Situation and Alternative Strategies
(TS 3356)

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